UNESCO The Courier
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IN SEARCH OF PARTNERSHIP

Is the international community a myth?

The world's homeless millions

Cities without limits

'Progress' = poverty?

A time to live ...

Photo © Vijñāna Kalā Vedi, Paris

Eloquent hands

Vijñāna kalā vedi is a cultural centre dedicated to the preservation of the traditional arts, crafts and sciences of southern India. Situated in a peaceful village in Kerala State, it was created by Louba Schild in collaboration with a team of artists and educators from India and elsewhere, and with assistance from Unesco's International Fund for the Promotion of Culture and from the Indian Government. The Centre is open to Indians and non-Indians alike, and throughout the year offers training courses, lasting from a week up to several months, for people of all ages. Above, very young children learn how to make mudras, symbolic gestures of the hands and fingers.

Editorial

"The concept of 'international community' is widely used today. But we live in an age when international law is increasingly flouted and when the world, thrown off balance by unequal development, torn apart by violence and approaching the end of a century whose problems it has failed to solve, is now preparing to plunge chaotically into the next. In these circumstances it seems difficult to understand how a notion so cruelly belied by history can have met with so much success." Such are the opening words of the article in this issue (see overleaf) in which French jurist René-Jean Dupuy analyses the concept of the "international community" in the modern world. An important part of his analysis is devoted to the supreme political expression of this community, the United Nations, which he regards as useful and indeed irreplaceable, despite its flaws and disadvantages, and as "an incomparable means, for Third World countries, of pressing their case vis-à-vis the wealthy".

On the eve of the 21st century, problems of unusual gravity confront the global community as it struggles to achieve self-expression. On the solution of these problems hinges the lasting establishment of a world order in which peace and justice prevail. Two of these major problems receive coverage in this month's magazine. The first is the way in which rampant world demographic growth and the urban explosion in the Third World are undermining efforts to bring about development and improve social conditions in the developing countries. Unsurprisingly in this context, the General Assembly of the United Nations has proclaimed 1987 as "International Year of Shelter for the Homeless". The second problem is a consequence of the paradox that poverty not only still exists in spite of the potential for progress inherent in modern technology but in some cases is actually becoming more acute or appearing in different forms, as in the case of those who have been called the "new poor" in certain technologically advanced societies.

Among the themes examined elsewhere in this issue are: international cultural co-operation (to which Unesco makes a major contribution), an important recent archaeological discovery in China, the development of the reading habit in the Soviet Union, and the survival of traditional games and sports. These are just some of the many activities through which the diverse components of the human community are endeavouring to live "in partnership".

Editor-in-chief: Edouard Glissant

January 1987
40th year

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Cover: Poster by Nicolae Corneliu, Romania. Photo Michel Claude © International Association of Art/Unesco

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Is the international community a myth?

by René-Jean Dupuy

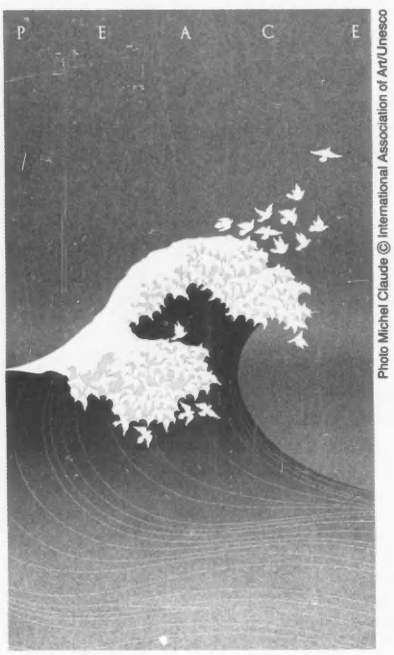


Photo Michel Claude © International Association of Art/Unesco

The First International Poster Salon was held at the Grand Palais, Paris, in July 1986. It was organized by the International Association of Art/Unesco, the Jury of the French Grand Prix of the Poster and the National Academy of Street Arts of France. The exhibition comprised 600 posters from 40 countries, from which the thousands of visitors voted for those they thought were the best. First prize went to a poster entitled* Peace *by the U.S. artist McRay Magleby (left). Reproduced on the following pages are other posters from the exhibition.

Right,* Hiroshima Appeals 1983, *by the Japanese graphic designer Yusaku Kamekura, which won second prize in the First International Poster Salon.

THE concept of "international community" is widely used today. But we live in an age when international law is increasingly flouted and when the world, thrown off balance by unequal development, torn apart by violence and approaching the end of a century whose problems it has failed to solve, is now preparing to plunge chaotically into the next. In these circumstances it seems difficult to understand how a notion so cruelly belied by history can have met with so much success.

Since the Second World War, in view of the great disparities between peoples in a world where States are increasingly numerous and where force continues to reign supreme, this concept has been the subject of critical examination, as a study of the different doctrines regarding it will show.

The schools of thought that we call "harmonist" have a common feature: they acknowledge, expressed in varying forms, the existence of an international community. "Strategist" doctrines, on the other hand, emphasize the essentially conflictual character of the international system and find the concept of international community unacceptable.

An error common to writers who subscribe to both schools is that they seek to impose an all-embracing legal framework, whereas each theory is capable of explaining only certain features of the phenomena in question.

Thus, the harmonists are right to stress the broad areas of co-operation among nations, but they are wrong to disregard the permanence of conflict; the strategists are right to emphasize antagonism and struggle, but it is unfortunate that this conflictual aspect occupies their whole field of vision.

In fact, both sides make the same mistake. They have an equally false conception of the international community, since they can imagine it only as a whole whose parts are reconciled. The harmonists anticipate a fraternal community which, perhaps, will never exist. The strategists, on the other hand, mistakenly believe that community presupposes absence of conflict; it does not occur to them that conflict and community are not incompatible.

And yet the two go together. It may even be said that unity and conflict are the two poles of a tragedy which is all the more overwhelming in that it is part of our immediate experience. A couple is a source of conflicts; so is a neighbourhood, a province or an association; and a nation is an arena for conflicts of many kinds. How, then, can the international community, if it is to exist, be conflict-free? Not only can community and conflict coexist, but it may be argued that one implies the other. We must therefore reintroduce the permanence of interdependence and antagonism into our analysis. Our method can only be dialectical.

Let there be no misunderstanding, however. Our purpose is to study the opposing and antagonistic forces at work in the international fabric, without considering the possible or desirable outcome of those contradictory trends.

There are two ways of using dialectical reasoning: firstly the finalist dialectic of Hegel and Marx, which places the thesis and the antithesis in opposition to produce the synthesis. The synthesis carries with it the promise of progress: this is a comforting, prophetic form of dialectic, heralding the dawn of a brighter tomorrow.

With all due respect to those who profess such a dialectic, we do not consider it a useful exercise to anticipate the future. It is conceivable that the contradictions of the modern world are leading humanity to a higher level of greater reason and justice, but it is also possible that we are now teaching the international law of the days of the apocalypse. For this reason we shall keep to what I shall term "open-ended" dialectic.

This dialectic does not yield a syn-

Photo Michel Claude © International Association of Art/Unesco

HIROSHIMA APPEALS
1983

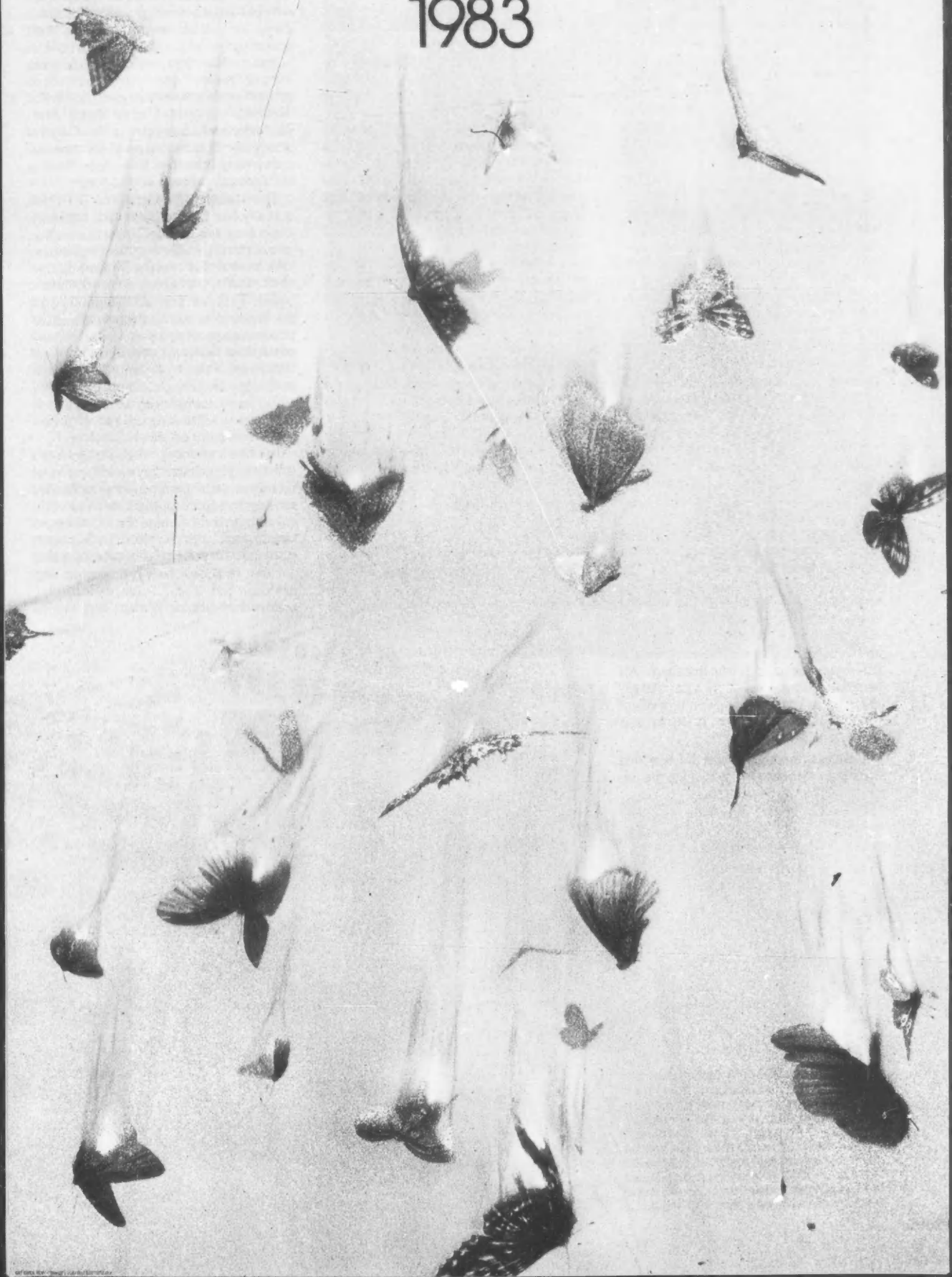


Photo Michel Claude © International Association of Art/Unesco

thesis: it remains open-ended because it leaves each person free to produce a synthesis if impelled by a moral or scientific need to do so. Our purpose, meanwhile, is to study the antagonisms for their own sake. We accordingly reject any kind of system, and use dialectic only as a method, a means of grasping and understanding present reality and seeking diversity in all its manifestations. In short, when we use this method we are continually challenging systems and renewing our approach to problems.

Dialectic does not necessarily lead either to salvation or to despair. It does not claim that humanity will succeed in achieving inner reconciliation, nor does it assert that perdition is at the end of the road; rather, it concurs with the structuralist approach of those who do not believe that the line of progress runs straight ahead without any setbacks or U-turns.

We are with those who see the path of progress as winding through a landscape of ruins, with fresh obstacles arising all the time. Factors of progress and factors of recession cruelly coexist. Whenever we learn that a new State has ratified a United Nations covenant on human rights, the newspapers tell us that simultaneously, elsewhere, those same rights have been atrociously violated.

We learn that, in a particular region or country, a major effort towards development has been accomplished, and that the people of that country are beginning to glimpse the possibility of economic and social liberation. Meanwhile it is revealed that elsewhere drought, famine and epidemics are laying waste the region and destroying the peoples who live there. All progress is accompanied by a parallel regress, and when we focus our attention on the former, we must not close our eyes to the latter.

If we examine the aspects of law which constitute evidence for or against the existence of the international community, what does our method reveal? Two series of observations can be made, the first concerning the structure of the collective grouping of nations, and the second concerning the situations created for States and peoples in the international system today.

From the structural point of view, we find the well-known opposition between infrastructure and superstructure. Nowadays, it is hardly necessary to be a Marxist to acknowledge the fact that law belongs to superstructure, and that the antagonisms which develop at the economic and social levels are concerned with the foundations on which law is built. Superstructures also act on one another, however; this is true of political ideas and cultural phenomena whose influence on law cannot be ignored. Thus international organizations, by their sheer number and by virtue of the role that they assume, have introduced a new set of factors into the system which impinge on the system of relations between States.

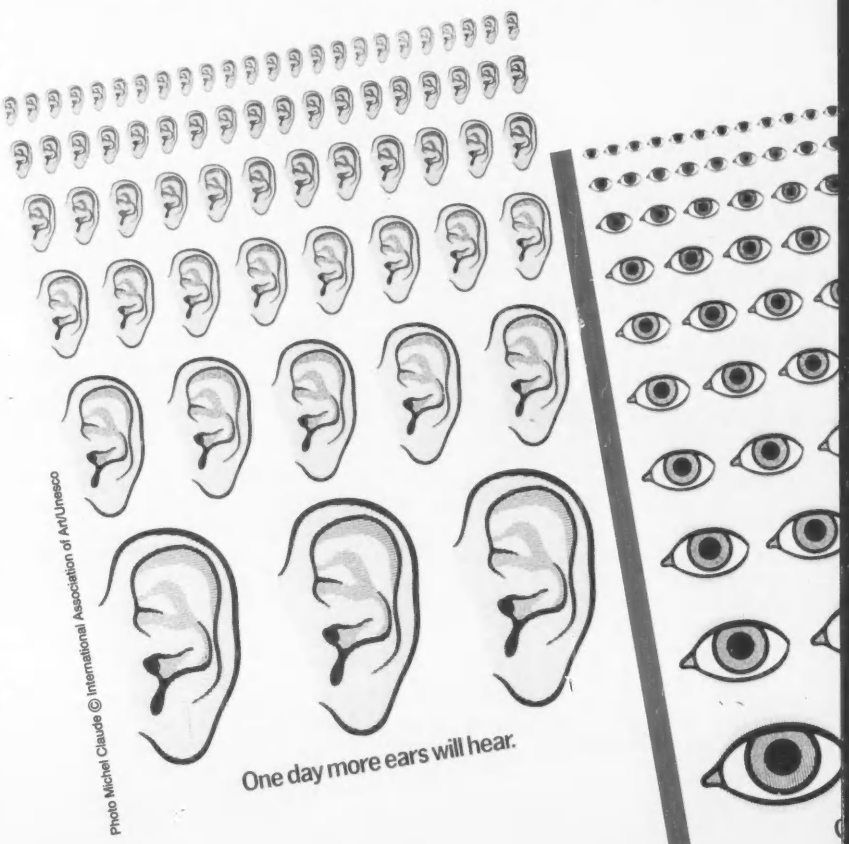
Several strategist writers concentrate their attention on the law of relations between States. They see the international organization as an entity that is both secondary and dangerous. Secondary because it has no sovereignty, yet dangerous, not so much because it aspires to dominate its Member States, but because it is manipulated by great powers.

This view is no longer such a straightforward reflection of reality; it cannot be claimed that United Nations agencies are a threat to the sovereignty of States which have acquired or recovered their sovereignty in recent decades with UN support. That fear, which springs from formal theory, may not have been groundless in the early days of the United Nations, when the United States automatically had a majority in the General Assembly; but for many years now the developing countries have been finding strength in numbers in that forum.

For example, the Group of 77 (which actually has 121 members) has taken on the role of interpellant in the Assembly; its members take the wealthy countries to task and denounce the inadequacy of their efforts to establish a new economic order. They are thus able to ensure that the General Assembly adopts resolutions proclaiming principles in which they express their desires, their aspirations and their view of the truth. Admittedly, their authority in the Organization suffers from some limitations, but they have given a new sense of direction and ideological vigour to the United Nations.

In consequence, the institutional sphere impinges strongly on the sphere of relations, with the developing countries striving to extend to the latter the influence they have gained in the former. Over and above these structural strategies a crucial debate is taking place on the relations between power and justice.

For the countries of the Third World



"While the developing countries are asserting their sovereignty and their identity in a great movement of political individualism, they are at the same time appealing to the international community, in the absence of which the rich countries could shrug off any positive obligations towards them." This triptych of posters (right) exhibited at the International Poster Salon is the work of a Swedish artist.

the United Nations is an incomparable means of pressing their case vis-à-vis the wealthy. For Nietzsche, the indispensable weapon of the weak lies in exploiting the guilty conscience of the strong. In the General Assembly the votes of the developing countries ensure the adoption year in year out of the same resolutions, whose object is to make an impact on consciences. And so it would be simplistic to present the UN as a reactionary entity today when on the contrary it offers the poor nations a platform from which to proclaim their destitution.

Power is the expression of a force aspiring to domination. In the nineteenth century the word "powers" was used to designate the strongest States which made up the European concert and which, when they reached agreement among themselves, dictated their common will to the other States. Power is always the characteristic of the large, strong States, but a coalition of weak, developing States can, in some circumstances, constitute a power to be reckoned with.

The rule of law always emanates from a dominant social force. According to positivist thinking, a rule emanates from competent bodies and is adopted through regular channels. But this does not make it necessarily equitable. Admittedly, law is supposed to coincide with justice, but that coincidence is often open to dispute and is, in fact, disputed.

Positivism has thus found itself in league with imperialism, colonialism and

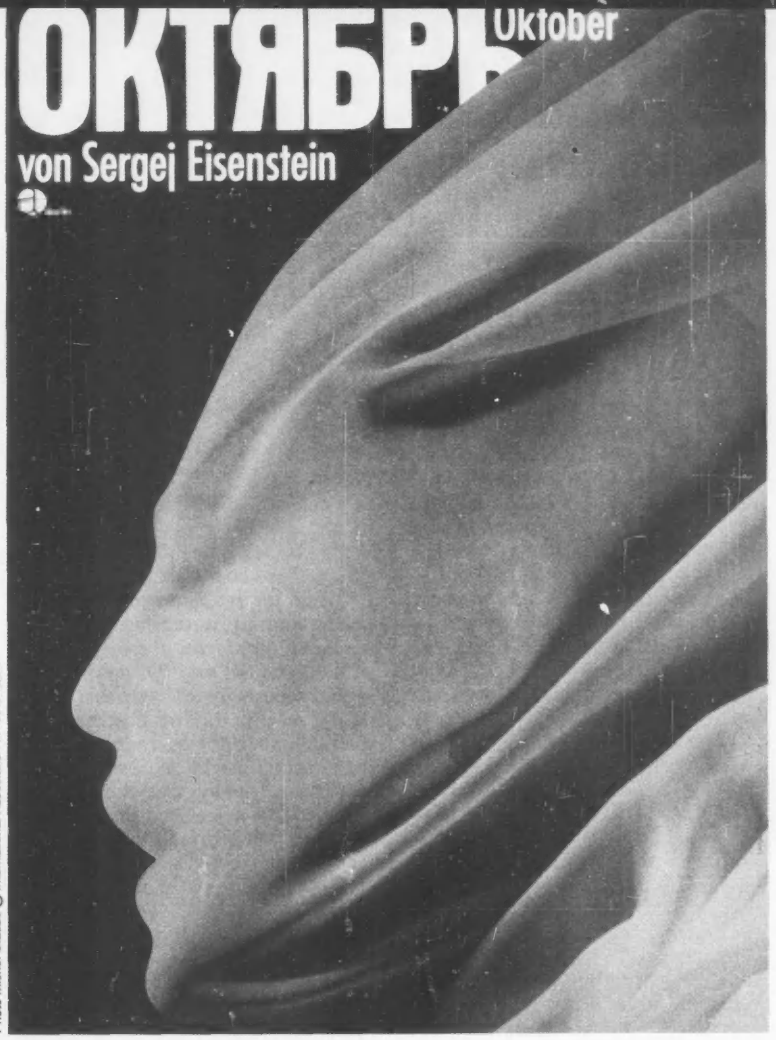
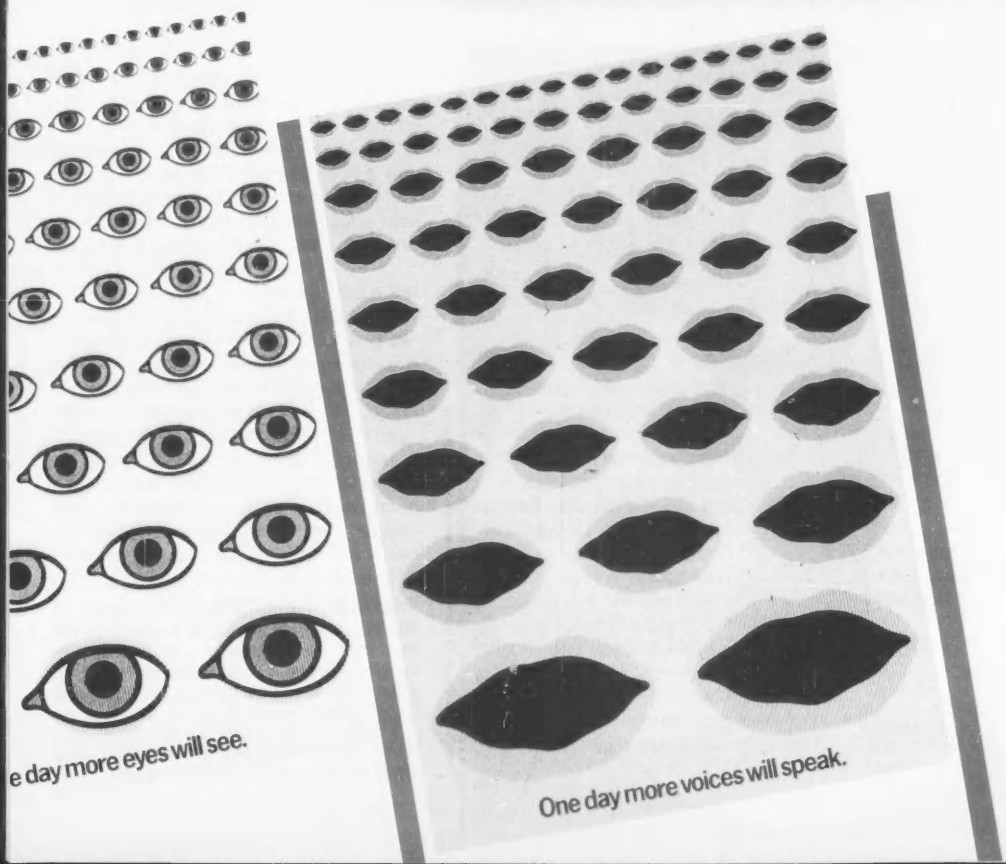


Photo Michel Claude © International Association of Art/Unesco



various forms of domination, in the absence of any legal rules that might have proscribed them. There can be no denying the fact that the overwhelming triumph of positivism is the triumph of Creon, with Antigone condemned to silence.

At present, in the international context, a number of rules are being reviewed at the prompting of certain countries. Classical law is still largely concerned with form and process, but to an increasing extent it is becoming regulatory, and is called upon to prescribe rules for the conduct of States. Inherent in this development, which the new political forces are striving to impose on the powerful States, and for which they have in many cases already succeeded in winning acceptance or tolerance, are new conceptions of international relations.

These new conceptions tend to imply recognition of the existence of an international community which postulates obligations for the well-endowed. The nature of such a community is twofold: internationalists often refer to a historical community resulting from real, material bonds which draw peoples closer together, and especially from advances in communications.

But we would put forward another version, a mythical and prophetic interpretation which enables the poor to denounce the power of the rich and the injustice of the law whose rules they have imposed. The international community then tends to take on the dynamic force of a political myth, in the sense intended by the French social philosopher Georges Sorel—in other words, an *idée force* capable of mobilizing the reserves of strength available to fight for change.

The major upheaval occurring today on the international scene is a result of the fact that technological development is making nations interdependent. That objective solidarity which, on the one hand, brings peoples closer together on the material plane, also, on the other, renders the contradictions between them more acute. Such solidarity did not exist in the classical international grouping, when the nations had little need to be concerned with what was happening in distant parts and paid attention only to their immediate neighbours.

We find, then, that the community emerging today is not the outcome of harmonist phenomena arising from newly discovered bonds of brotherhood, still less from the settlement of differences. On the contrary, its contradictory path is mapped out by forces of repulsion, competition, refusal and demand, and yet simultaneously by the influence of solidarity, reciprocal needs and mutual responsibilities. Moreover, it is because they are backed by the existence of a certain community that the least privileged peoples feel that they can challenge the wealthier nations and demand their assistance and support—not as a charitable hand-out, but as a duty and an obligation.

So, while the developing countries are asserting their sovereignty and their identity in a great movement of political individualism, they are at the same time appealing to the international community, in the absence of which the rich countries could shrug off any positive obligations towards them. The driving force of history in the making is at the heart of this tension between individuality and solidarity. This means that the international community is not a harmonist concept, based on a universal consensus, but a reality of conflict, of permanent tension between power and justice. The myth of community, encompassing both, should not be unfamiliar to legal experts. The French writer Paul Valéry foresaw this with admirable clarity: "It may be said that the world of society, the world of law and the world of politics are essentially mythical worlds whose laws ... owe to us their existence, their strength and their patterns of impulsion and constraint." ■

RENE-JEAN DUPUY, *of France, has been professor of international law at the Collège de France since 1979. Notable among his published works is* Communauté internationale et disparités de développement *(1981; "International Community and Disparities in Development"). He has edited and contributed to a number of collective works, including* Le règlement des différends sur les nouvelles ressources naturelles *(1983; "The Settling of Differences on New Natural Resources") and* L'avenir du droit international dans un monde multiculturel *(1984; "The Future of International Law in a Multicultural World"). The above article has been extracted from* La communauté internationale entre le mythe et l'histoire *(1986; "The International Community between Myth and History"), co-published by Unesco and Economica publishers, Paris.*

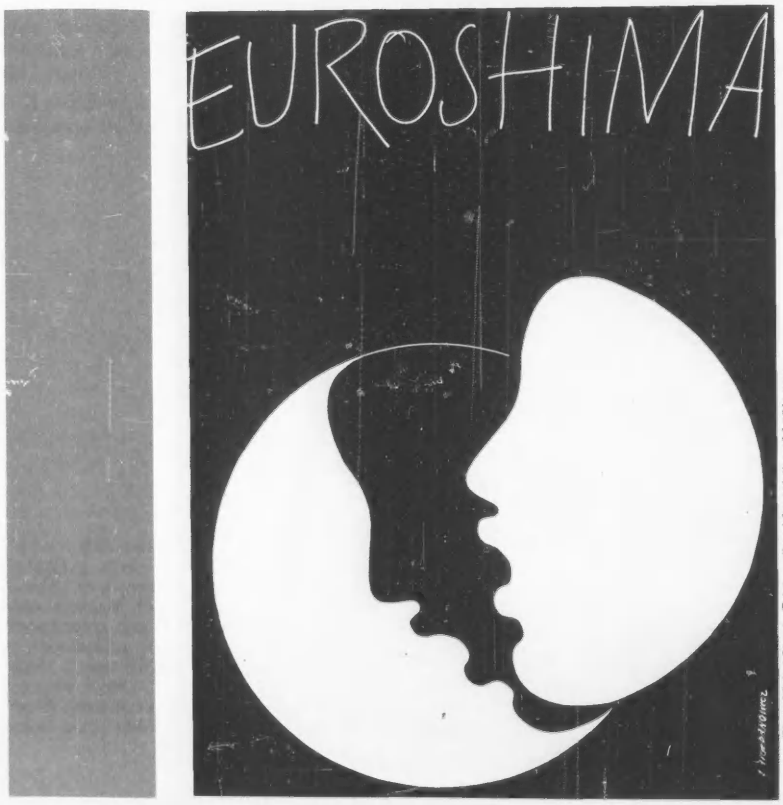


Photo Michel Claude © International Association of Art/Unesco

"The major upheaval occurring today on the international scene is a result of the fact that technological development is making nations interdependent. That objective solidarity which, on the one hand, brings peoples closer together on the material plane, also, on the other, renders the contradictions between them more acute." Left, a Polish poster.

Twenty years of cultural co-operation

by Emmanuel Pouchepadass

Photo Michel Claude/Unesco

National Theatre of Vietnam performance at Unesco Headquarters, Paris, in March 1984.

THE Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation unanimously adopted by Unesco's General Conference on 4 November 1966 is twenty years old. The celebration of this anniversary late last year was one of many events which marked the International Year of Peace at Unesco, in Member States and in the United Nations system.

The Declaration is founded on the belief that culture is a particularly important factor in the development of understanding between people and societies, and that international solidarity can be strengthened in important respects by a recognition of the interdependence of the world community.

Cultural co-operation has acquired a new impetus at all levels in the past twenty years. Cultural exchanges have grown in number and variety. Many joint projects involving several countries have been accomplished within and between the different world regions, especially in the fields of North-South, South-South and European co-operation.

Recent initiatives at regional and sub-regional level have focused on the study of languages and cultures (in Latin America, the Caribbean, Central Asia and the Arctic regions); the training of cultural staff (in West Africa and Latin America); and the joint organization of festivals and other artistic and cultural events. One of the most interesting aspects of sub-regional co-operation is the growth of contacts between universities and research institutes (e.g., in the Caribbean sub-region).

Latin America has decided to create a common market for books and is considering the introduction of an educational television system. Several West African countries have launched operations for the rescue and development of archaeological sites, notably while hydraulic engineering projects were being carried out.

Joint projects concerning the non-material cultural heritage, particularly studies of languages and oral traditions, have also been initiated, with the support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Unesco, as part of a ten-year Plan for the systematic study of African languages and oral traditions. A number of African universities have joined forces in the collection and study of traditional African music and dance. In the field of cinema and the media, there is a growing number of co-productions, not only between industrialized countries but also in the context of North-South co-operation.

But the best example of international cultural co-operation is doubtless the launching, under the joint auspices of the United Nations and Unesco, of a World Decade for Cultural Development which will begin in 1988 after being proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Decade will call for determined, sustained joint action by Member States of the organizations of the United Nations system, especially those of Unesco, and by international non-governmental organizations, in order to meet the challenges confronting mankind in the late twentieth century. ■

EMMANUEL POUCHEPADASS *joined Unesco in 1971 as director of the Division of Cultural Development, after a career in the Indian diplomatic service. From 1977 to 1981 he was director of Unesco's Division of Cultural Studies and of the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture.*

Cities

by Rafael M. Salas

THE world has embarked on a course which will transform it into a predominantly urban planet. By the time population stabilizes at the end of the next century, truly rural populations will have become a very small minority.

More than 40 per cent of the world population currently live in urban areas. This figure will increase to more than 50 per cent shortly after the turn of the century. Developed regions have been more than 50 per cent urban since the mid-20th century. Developing countries are expected to pass the 50 per cent mark in the first quarter of the next century.

Within the less developed regions there are important differences. The developing countries of Africa and Asia are less than 30 per cent urban. Latin Amer-

without limits

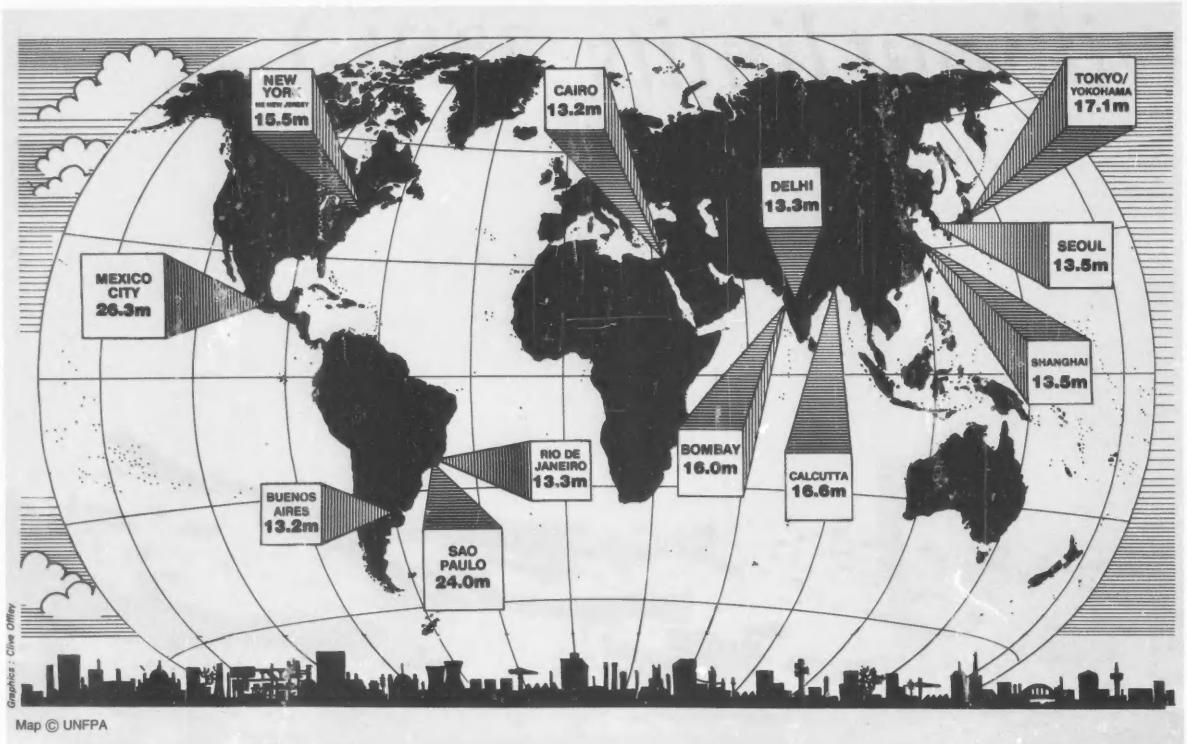
Illustration by Hector Cattolica/UNFPA, *State of World Population 1989*

The city offers a vision—perhaps a mirage—of wealth for the rural poor, who might otherwise face a bleak future.

ica, on the other hand, is nearly 70 per cent urban, reflecting the region's stage of development and the special features of its urban structure and history.

By the year 2000:
5 'super-cities' of 15 million

Most of the world's urban population today lives in developing countries. In 1970 the total urban population of the more developed regions was almost 30 million more than in the less developed. Five years later the position was reversed and by 1985 the difference had widened to more than 300 million. By the year 2000 the urban population of developing countries will be almost double that of the developed countries. By the year 2025 it will be almost four times as large.



Map © UNFPA

The rise of the cities

By the year 2000 half of the world population will live in cities, according to the 1986* State of World Population *report from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). The map above indicates the projected populations (in millions) for the year 2000, in the twelve largest metropolitan regions of the world.

At present the urban population of Africa is smaller than that of North America, but by the beginning of the next century it is expected to be substantially greater, and three times greater by the year 2025.

The proportion of the world population living in the largest cities will almost double between 1970 and 2025, because of the growth of such cities in developing countries. By the year 2025 almost 30 per cent of the urban population in the developing regions will be living in cities of over 4 million, more than double the figure for the more developed regions. Although only a small proportion of the African population today lives in very large cities, by the end of the first quarter of the next century this proportion could be higher than that of any other continent. In developed countries, moreover, there is a trend towards deconcentration.

By the year 2000 there will be five "super-cities" of 15 million or more inhabitants, three of them in the developing regions. Two of them, in Latin America, will have populations of around 25 million. In 1970, nine of the twenty largest cities in the world were in the less developed regions; in 1985 there were ten and by the year 2000 there will be sixteen.

This change signals the end of the close relationship between large cities and economic development. Until recently such cities were because of their size centres of international political and economic networks, a situation which may now begin to change.

The urban population in developing countries is currently increasing three times more quickly than that of developed countries, at a rate of about 3.5 per cent a year, a doubling time of only twenty years.

There are important differences between the developing regions. Latin America has the lowest rates of population growth, followed by Asia. Africa, especially East Africa, has the highest. The current growth rate for Africa is 5 per cent a year, implying a doubling of the urban population every 14 years. The current figure for East Africa is above 6.5 per cent, a doubling time of little more than ten years.

Migrants to the cities

Such extremely rapid urban growth is without precedent. It confronts the cities, especially in the developing countries, with problems new to human experience, and presents the old problems—urban infrastructure, food, housing, employment, health, education—in new and accentuated forms.

Furthermore, despite migration to the cities, rural population in developing countries will continue to increase, at a rate of around one per cent annually.

Five important points emerge from an analysis of United Nations population figures:

- The world's rural population is now more than 2.5 thousand million;
- Rural population density is already very high in many parts of the less developed regions. Standards of living, while improving, remain low. It is doubtful whether added demographic pressure will benefit agricultural development—on the contrary it may jeopardize the development of many rural areas;
- Increasing rural population in developing countries will make it difficult to reduce the flow of migrants to the cities;
- The natural growth rate (the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths) of the rural population is higher than the one per cent rate—often more than double. The difference is due to the number of migrants to the cities;
- For most of Africa, unlike the rest of the developing world, rural populations will continue to increase until well into the next century.

Although urban fertility in developing countries tends to be lower than rural fertility, it is still at least twice as high as that in developed countries.

When natural increase in urban areas is high and migrants contribute substantially to it, the migrants' future fertility becomes an important factor. The high fertility typical of rural areas may be carried over into the urban environment; more optimistically, migrants plunging into new endeavours in a different context may adapt rather quickly to urban values, including lower fertility.

Those who consider urbanization to be a blessing hold that migration to the cities is part of a dynamic development process. Those who think that it is a burden believe that rural surplus population becomes an urban surplus, producing "over-urbanization", in which an inefficient and unproductive "informal sector" consisting of street vendors, shoeshine boys, sidewalk repair shops and other so-called marginal occupations becomes more and more important.

Urban life has its positive aspects, but they emphasize employment rather than what workers get for their labour. A city worker may earn more than a rural counterpart, but is it enough to cover the basic needs of food, health, housing and education?

Two important aspects of urban life are income distribution and the number of city-dwellers living below an acceptable and culturally adjusted "poverty line". Reliable data are lacking, but it is probably true that the distribution of incomes is more inequitable in urban than in rural areas, in that there are proportionally more very rich and very poor people in the cities.

This may be as much an indication of economic development in the urban areas as of the privileges enjoyed by urban élites. Rapid demographic growth among the urban masses also contributes to the inequality of income distribution and swells the numbers of the poor.

A massive housing deficit

The most visible manifestations of the problems of rapid urban population growth are the makeshift settlements on the outskirts of every city in the developing world. They are usually in the worst parts of town as regards health and accessibility, lacking basic services and security of tenure. They are by their nature overcrowded—average occupancy rates of four to five persons per room are common.

The names given to these settlements graphically express their characteristics. In Latin America the word *callampas* (mushrooms) refers to their almost magical overnight growth. The term *bidonvilles* (tin can cities), is often used in Francophone Africa to describe their makeshift nature. There are many other labels, usually given by outsiders: those who live in these settlements might describe them differently, perhaps even

CONTINUED PAGE 16

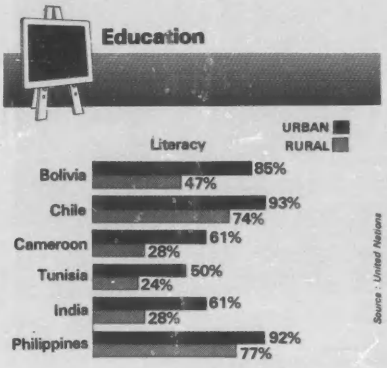
The child in the city

For Third World parents the city may seem the best place to bring up a child – education and health services are usually better than in the countryside. But there are disadvantages too: the city child will spend much more of the day away from the family and at greater risk of exploitation.

URBAN ADVANTAGES

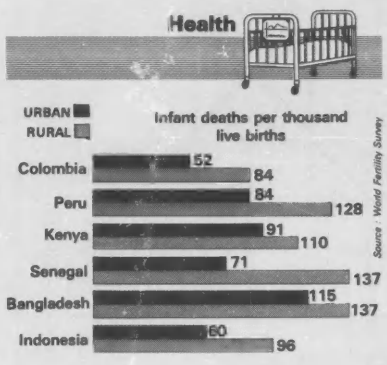
Health and education services are easier to provide in cities. And mortality and literacy statistics do show the urban areas in a favourable light.

Education



Source : United Nations

Health



Source : World Fertility Survey

Graphics : Clive Offley

But there will be great differences between the poorer and richer parts of each city. In Lima, Peru, for example, 19% of the children overall are malnourished but this figure rises to 36% in the poorest districts.

STREET CHILDREN

Some 40 million children around the world spend their days on city streets – often working. The majority maintain contact with their families, but millions of children also live on the street.

Why they are there

A survey in Maputo, Mozambique, asked children why there were on the street. These are the reasons they gave.

Hunger and poverty in the home	27%
Treated badly at home	27%
Nothing else to do	27%
Sent by the family	9%
Abandoned by the family	9%
Just following other children	1%

Source : Mozambique Min. of Health

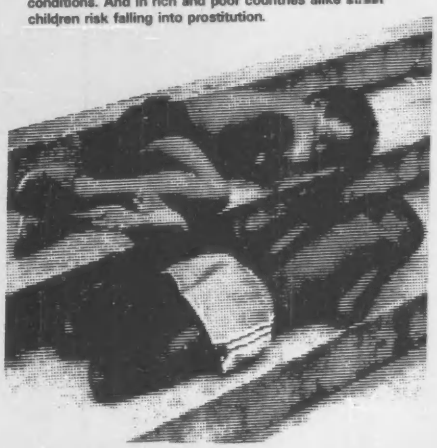
What they do

Many city children work (as well as going to school for part of the day). Research in Asuncion, Paraguay, asked children what their major jobs were:

Selling newspapers	27%
Shining shoes	24%
Selling food etc.	33%
Cleaning windscreens	6%
Cleaning and looking after cars	9%
Others	1%

Source : Govt. of Paraguay

City children also have factory jobs – often in harsh conditions. And in rich and poor countries alike street children risk falling into prostitution.



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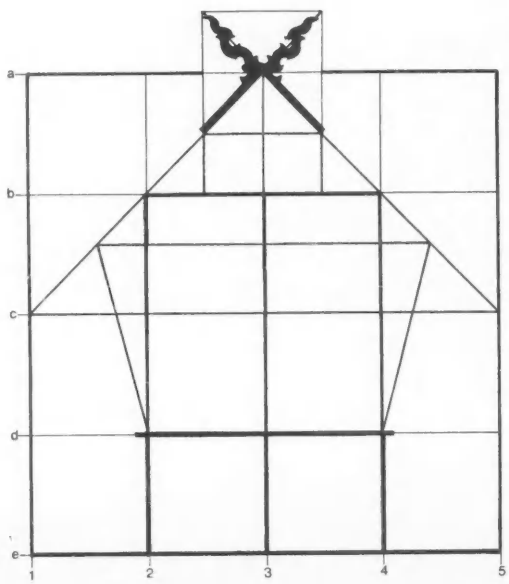
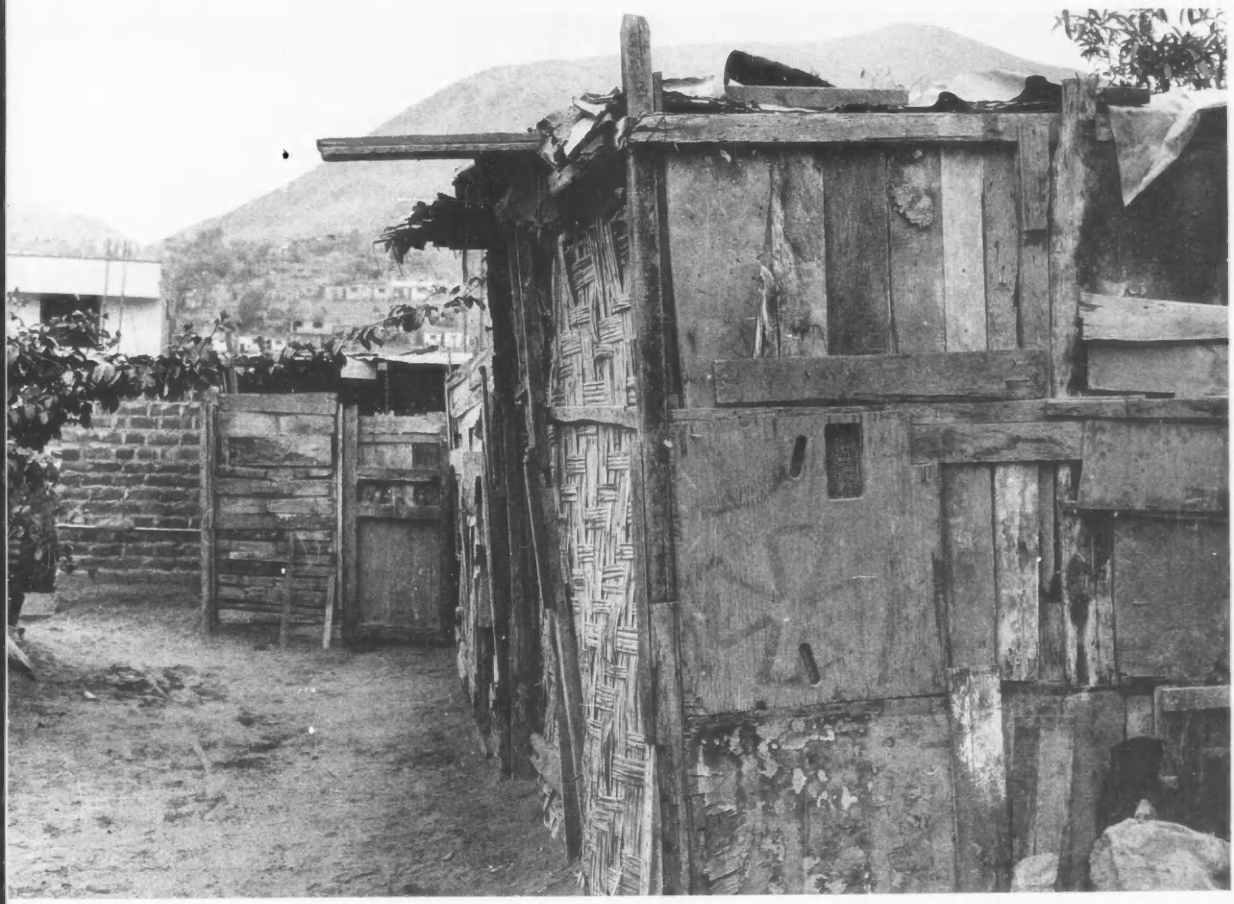
Photos © Attayut Piravinich. Paris/Unesco

Unesco and human settlements

In 1976, Unesco's Division of Human Settlements and Socio-cultural Environments began to publish a series of studies on traditional forms of architecture and town planning in different cultures. These documents, 38 of which have so far appeared, have been well received by architects, urban planners, ethnologists and geographers. They draw attention to forms of architecture which seem likely to disappear, describe the ways in which local materials and traditional techniques are used, and also take into account the social setting of the villages or districts concerned. (Left and below, gable decorations of a traditional kalê house of northern Thailand, a form of settlement which was the subject of a study published by Unesco in February 1985.) Other studies have focused on contemporary urban problems, especially those of people living in poor districts on the outskirts of large towns and cities, and are intended as a contribution to urban rehabilitation projects such as that in Villa Maria del Triunfo (right, aerial view and detail), a settlement described in a study on "self-built housing" in Lima, Peru, published by Unesco in June 1986.





Photos © Anna M. Wagner de Reyna/Unesco

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

considering them as starting points on the path to a higher standard of living.

There is a massive housing deficit in many large cities. The World Bank estimated in 1975 that the poorest quarter of the population in most African and Asian cities cannot afford even minimal housing. Wood and cardboard packing crates, sheets of plastic or corrugated iron, flattened tin cans, leaves, bamboo and beaten earth are the main sources of materials.

Space is also a problem. Landlords may add illegal floors to existing buildings, only to watch their dreams of wealth collapse along with the buildings and the lives of the unfortunate inhabitants. In some cities several workers will use the same "hot bed" in shifts over the twenty-four hours. In Cairo squatters have occupied a large cemetery: the tombs of the wealthy have become homes for the poor.

Colonies of squatters occupy the last areas to be settled, and may be perched on steep hillsides subject to frequent landslides, or installed by rivers or on swampy ground which is flooded regularly. In Mexico City about 1.5 million people live on the drained bed of a salt lake, bedevilled by dust storms in the dry season and floods in rainy months. In Lagos, Nigeria, the proportion of wet land to dry land settled has worsened, while the absolute area of dry land occupied has doubled.

Where squatter settlements have been established near workplaces, the inhabitants may run the risk of pollution and are exposed to dangers such as the leak of poisonous gas in Bhopal, India, or the explosions at oil refineries in Mexico City.

Squatter settlements typically lack water, sewage and waste disposal facilities, electricity and paved streets. In Mexico City, 80 per cent of the population have access to tapwater, but in some squatter settlements the figure is less than 50 per cent. Water consumption in the wealthy quarters of Mexico City is at least five times as high as in the poorer areas. In Lagos, water is strictly rationed and in some parts of the city residents must walk long distances to obtain water from a few pumps which are turned on only in the early morning.

According to a study carried out in Lima, Peru, lower income groups spent three times more per month on water from vendors but consumed less than a sixth as much as those with running water at home.

It is estimated that three million inhabitants of Mexico City do not have access to the sewage system. In São Paulo, Brazil, the absence of sewage systems have turned the two main rivers into moving cesspools.

Because they occupy land owned by the government, private individuals or communal organizations, squatters are frequently subject to harassment, which increases their feeling of insecurity and the precariousness of their existence. Illegal or barely legal occupation does nothing to encourage squatters to improve or even maintain the shaky structures in which they live.

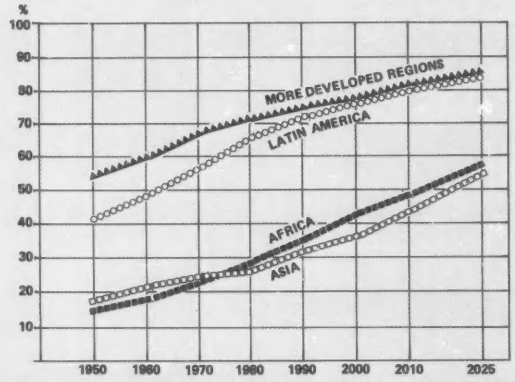
A number of schemes have been devised to give more security to squatters, but there are risks. One is that improving living conditions in the city will encour-

How cities grow

The urban population of developing countries will be almost double that of developed countries by the year 2000 – according to the 1986 'State of World Population' report from the UN Fund for Population Activities.

CONTINENTAL CONURBATIONS

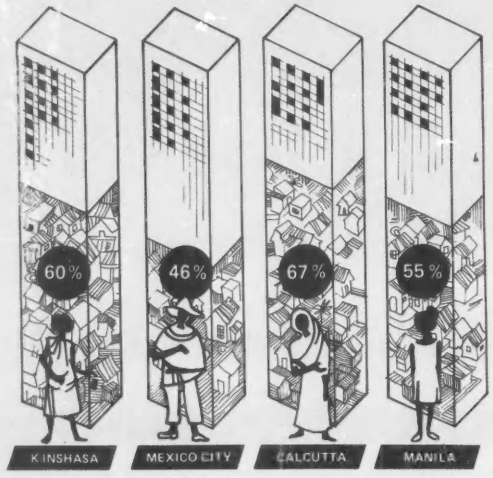
Latin America has some of the largest cities of the developing world – but Africa is now urbanizing at a rapid rate. The chart shows the percentage of the population living in urban areas.



Source : United Nations

BUILDING FROM BELOW

The major architects of today's Third World cities are poor families building their own homes. The diagram below shows the percentage of squatters and slum dwellers in four major cities.



Graphics : Clive Offley

Source : Assignment Children 57/58

Document UNFPA

age people to move there. Another is that improvements to property will increase its value and encourage squatters to sell, while moving it out of the reach of other low-income families.

Two urgent problems: child health and education

The health of the poor may be worse in urban than in rural areas. Infant mortality in the Port-au-Prince slums is three times higher than it is in the rural areas of Haiti. In some of the *favelas* of São Paulo, infant mortality is over 100 per thousand live births. The overall infant mortality rate for the slums of Delhi is 221 per thousand, twice that for some castes. In Manila infant mortality is three times higher in the slums than it is in the rest of the city. (Tuberculosis rates are nine times higher; the incidence of diarrhoea is twice as common; twice as many people are anaemic and three times as many are undernourished.) In Panama City, of 1,819 infants with diarrhoeal diseases, 45.5 per cent came from the slums and 22.5 per cent from squatter settlements. Children living in the best housing were not affected.

In most cities in developed countries, young people under 19 constitute less than 30 per cent of the population. In developing countries, the proportion is typically over 40 per cent and may reach 50 per cent in cities such as Manila, Jakarta and Bogotá. If the education system breaks down under this sort of pressure, it will add immeasurably to problems of employment, delinquency and allied problems caused by the existence of "street children".

Education is probably the most pressing of urban problems. A lower rate of population growth would immeasurably help the situation, but such a decrease partly depends on the spread of education. Family planning programmes will certainly be useful, but they must be accompanied by renewed efforts to bring education to the urban masses.

How will the cities be fed?

How will agriculture respond to the tremendous pressure of urbanization and the growth of urban population? A recent study by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) draws attention to some of the likely effects.

First, urban populations demand cheap food. By weight of numbers they force governments to keep retail prices down. Governments may make up the difference by subsidizing farmers but experience has shown that, once established, such subsidies are difficult to withdraw.

Second, as urban populations grow and indigenous agriculture fails to keep up with demand (for lack of incentive to increase supply), more food is imported. This drains off hard currency intended for capital imports with a view to long-term development.

Third, urban population increase means that rural populations and the agricultural labour force will grow more slowly. But to meet urban needs agricultural productivity should be increasing by 17 per cent for each agricultural worker in developing countries between 1980 and the year 2000. This figure seems high, but recent experience in Asia and Latin America shows that it is possible.

For Africa, however, the increase per worker will have to be almost 25 per cent, an eventuality that seems very doubtful in view of recent events. Research in Africa has shown that lower production gains were made in countries with high rural-urban migration. This contrasts with experience in other regions, where rural-urban migration has been at least partly the consequence of higher agricultural labour productivity.

Fourth, tastes in food change under the influence of urban life-styles, as traditional staples are partly replaced by foods such as bread, meat and vegetables.

Fifth, the growth of urban population intensifies competition for land, water and energy. Cities gobble up agricultural land, often the best land because its fertility was the original attraction which stimulated urban growth. Between 1980 and the year 2000, according to one study, cities will devour four million hectares of land with the potential to feed 84 million people.

Sixth, while malnutrition may be more widespread among rural populations, the urban poor suffer more acutely. People in the lowest income groups normally have to spend more than half of their incomes on food.

Balanced approaches to an urban planet

The transformation from a rural to an urban planet offers both great blessings and heavy burdens. The transition from agrarian to urban has always been considered a positive step, part of the process of modernization. However, the rapid growth of urban populations in societies rapidly changing in other ways is fraught with enormous tension and tremendously complex problems.

In its search for solutions to problems of urban population dynamics, UNFPA puts continuous emphasis on three fundamental objectives: economic efficiency, social equity and population balance. It recognizes that the solution for many urban problems will only come through economic efficiency and vast growth of the productive forces. Economic growth is essential to any solution of urban problems. At the same time social equity should be pursued, with emphasis on equal opportunity for all.

Neither economic efficiency nor social equity can be attained without demographic balance—balance within and between urban and rural areas, balanced population distribution and balanced population growth. ■

RAFAEL M. SALAS, *of the Philippines, is an Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and executive director of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, which he has headed since it became operational in 1969. A graduate of the universities of the Philippines and of Harvard (USA), he has served as a Minister and occupied other high-level posts in the Philippine Government.*

The world's homeless millions

THE General Assembly of the United Nations has declared 1987 the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. More than 1,000 million people—a quarter of the world population—are either literally homeless or live in extremely poor housing and unhealthy environments. About 100 million people have no shelter whatsoever; they sleep in the streets, under bridges, on waste ground, in alleys and doorways.

The problem of inadequate housing is universal. It is common to industrialized and developing countries, to urban and rural areas. Because of an unprecedented urban explosion, the developing countries are faced with the formidable task of providing shelter, services and work in cities for an additional 150,000 people every day.

In the shanty-towns the urban poor live in helpless insecurity, evicted repeatedly from homes which are demolished before their eyes and confronted by hostile officials who refuse to recognize their existence. Hostility breeds hostility. In these mushrooming squatter colonies, a generation of city-dwellers is growing up with no stake in the present social order, which they find unrelentingly oppressive. Many of them hold society responsible for their degraded lives; many also have learned to live by preying upon it.

City after city has therefore turned into a powder keg of crime and violence. Governments have responded by increasing the numbers and powers of the police, a policy which has at best treated the symptoms of the crisis and not its causes. As a result social peace has become more and more fragile.

Many of the remedies chosen have aggravated the disease. For example, the authorities perceive that the quality of housing in the cities is poor and that living conditions are unhygienic. The solution they adopt is to raise housing standards through stricter enforcement of more exacting building codes.

However, higher standards increase the cost of construction and place legal housing even further beyond the reach of the urban poor, more and more of whom are forced into shanty-towns and inner-city slums. The authorities find that there are too many squatters, clear their colonies and raze their hovels to the ground.

Most governments have tried to rehouse squatters in State-built housing. This has not solved the problem either. Not only has the pace of public construction lagged far behind the growth of the cities, but even State-built dwellings of this kind have proved far too expensive for the poor. The authorities have therefore been forced to subsidize the poor and have quickly found that the cost is far too high. This dismal failure has often led them to avoid the problem of providing shelter by pretending that it has ceased to exist.

Hectic urban growth and the rising demand for housing push up rents to levels far higher than what the poor, and even

"More than 1,000 million people—a quarter of the world population—are either literally homeless or live in extremely poor housing and unhealthy environments. About 100 million people have no shelter whatsoever; they sleep in the streets, under bridges, on waste ground, in alleys and doorways."

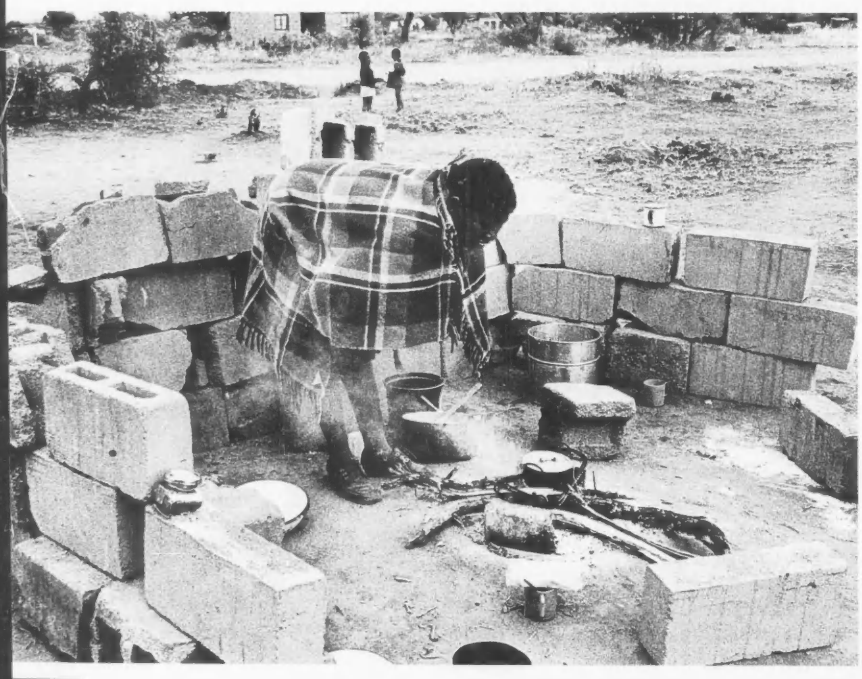


Photo Michael Kahn/Unesco

Photo Rashid Talukder/Unesco

large sections of the middle class, can pay. The authorities respond by imposing rent control, a solution which makes investment in housing uneconomic and dries up the supply of new dwelling units, thus increasing the pressure on existing units and accelerating the growth of squatter colonies.

Most obstacles to the provision of shelter are man-made, rooted in laws and economic conditions. The removal of these hurdles involves first of all guaranteeing the urban poor a secure title to plots of land, however small these may be; secondly, allowing them to build whatever kind of housing they can afford and leaving them free to improve it when their means permit; thirdly, meeting their need for sanitation and safe drinking water in the cheapest way possible; and lastly giving them access to financial and technical assistance in building their homes.

In the search for low cost options, architects and shelter planners have found that the best way to start is by taking a hard look at a country's traditional architecture and construction methods. This approach, once practised exclusively by imaginative architects, has now been widely adopted by shelter planners and is yielding rich dividends. Unbaked clay bricks are, for example, not only considerably cheaper than cement blocks or fired bricks, they are also much better thermal insulators.

The second important lesson that planners have learned is that if shelter can be brought within the means of the poor, then instead of being a drag on the economy, investment in housing for low-income groups can become a powerful and sustained stimulus for economic growth in a developing country.

If they are to solve the shelter problem the developing countries must mobilize the savings of the poor to finance the construction of their own homes. Not only must private builders become involved as entrepreneurs in building houses for low-income groups, but the output of the building materials industry must be reoriented to meet the need for cheap building materials.

This does not mean that the industry should accept low profit returns on the production and sale of these materials. It implies that the industry must be given the technological support needed to produce cheap building materials for low-cost housing. A final but very important point is that the success and viability of shelter projects depend heavily on the involvement of the beneficiaries.

The urban and rural poor have shown a tremendous capacity to improve their housing conditions with little or no external assistance—thus demonstrating the need for policies aimed at "helping the poor to help themselves", a need being increasingly recognized by governments in their development policies and programmes.

This approach to human settlement policies is increasingly being adopted by the governments of developing countries. Thus there is hope that current trends can be reversed, that present conditions are not unchangeable and that this formidable challenge can still be met. ■

Poverty and progress

An international meeting of experts on the theme "Poverty and Progress" took place from 17 to 21 November 1986 at Unesco Headquarters in Paris. The meeting, organized by Unesco in collaboration with the United Nations University, was the follow-up to a series of symposiums devoted to the concept and aims of development, and to Unesco's work in this field. The purpose of the meeting was to examine, in different social and cultural contexts, the mechanisms of marginalization and exclusion resulting from certain development processes, especially those linked to some forms of technological development, and to throw light on the resulting manifestations of poverty. Speaking at the meeting, the Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, said: "I believe that one of the great problems of our time is that of abolishing not only material poverty, but also the moral, human poverty which can be seen in many places and which may underlie many social difficulties experienced by some countries which on the face of it appear relatively wealthy. ... The ultimate aim of development, in reality, is culture, to the extent that it is through cultural values that humanity can fulfil its aspirations and satisfy most of its needs." Below, extracts from four of the papers presented at the meeting.

Women on the sidelines

by Amadou Moustapha Diop

THE social exclusion of women in the countries of the Third World has its origin in patriarchal institutions whose standards, values and models are exclusively controlled by men. Ideological constructions subject women to a "constant reversal of values". According to this institutional framework, woman is negatively branded from birth. "Biologically, motherhood sets her apart; ethically, her impurity isolates her; metaphysically, her very being is guilty, and the great religions systematize her condemnation: original sin in Christianity, and reincarnation in the body of a woman as punishment for a misspent life in Hinduism".[1] Nor should we overlook Islam, which elaborately demarcates the territory of the two sexes: the interior of the house, the indoor world, is the woman's realm, and she herself is the secret domain of man; the outdoors is men's field of action and a strictly male preserve. And "any overlapping of these spaces is restricted and controlled by a host of rituals".[2]

Thus the traditional reproductive and nurturing role is one of the major obstacles to women's participation in society. This socio-biological role is a hindrance in that it forces women—imprisoned in the straitjacket of their responsibilities towards their children[3]—to put up with mere "pin money", starvation wages in the agro-industries of the Third World countries: "The international division of labour classes them as working mothers, working wives and working sisters. The profits of national and international corporations are swollen thanks to the concept of 'wives' earnings', which provides ideological justification for both the

With These Hands, ***a film produced and directed by Chris Sheppard and Claude Sauvageot, presents the stories of three women from three African countries: Kenya, Zimbabwe and Burkina Faso. One of the most surprising facts revealed by the film is that women, not men, grow 75% of Africa's food—as well as finding time for their domestic chores. Zenabou Bambara (left on photo opposite) of Burkina Faso, declares: "We wish the men would help. But a man is ashamed to do women's work."***

existence and the injustice of unequal pay for the two sexes."[1] The gravitation towards sub-proletarian work is caused by women's inferior position in the rural world, and by the family's assumption that domestic work is a woman's natural lot, which is treated as non-existent at national level becauses it is not productive work, and hence cannot feature in the statistics of the decision-makers and planners.[4] Furthermore, women are deprived of the means of production: under common law they cannot inherit land, and so their access to agriculture depends on the fulfilment of duly pre-established social conditions—a woman must be married, or at least have a recognized status in the community.

In *Femmes du tiers monde*,[1] J. Bissillat and M. Fiéloux describe one case of the total exclusion of Senegalese women from the system of land ownership. In 1979, SAED, the body responsible for development of the middle region of the Senegal Valley, decided to organize a "village lottery for farmers, so that they might all, regardless of their status—whether formerly slaves, craftworkers or 'masters'—have a chance to win in the distribution of plots of land on the outskirts of the village where irrigation was planned. But this exercise in fair play ran into trouble. Whatever her status—as a wife, single woman or de facto head of a household—no woman was entitled to receive a plot of land in her own name. The only way around the difficulty was for the most needy among them, such as a widow with four children to support, to give a fictitious name for the head of the family, with the villagers' consent: that of a five-year-old son or a deceased relative, for example."

Even the usufruct of plots of land conceded to a woman by her husband becomes precarious with the development of cash crops, which are "increasingly taking over the best land, encroaching on areas formerly set aside for food crops". Cash crops have destroyed the former balance of duties and obligations; the old methods of sharing have fallen into disuse. Cash crops enhance the prestige and power of men. Women, although they play an active part in agricultural work, find their status radically changing; they become an over-exploited sub-proletariat—since they still continue to tend the food crops—and underpaid wage-earners. A Dioula woman (Senegal), for example, after working on her husband's groundnut plantations, is entitled to "one-twentieth of the money that he makes from the harvest".

Trapped in the labour of growing food, rural women are cut off from the economic circuits, and accordingly have no access to co-operatives or to loans. If anyone condescends to grant a woman a loan, it will be at a prohibitively high rate of interest. For example, Burkina-be women were offered "a loan access scheme. But then the paradox became starkly apparent, because they were compelled to accept a repayment rate fixed by the men, slightly higher than the official rate".

Women perform nearly 80 per cent of agricultural work in Africa, and yet as economic partners they are non-existent. For example, Wolof women (Senegal) "are kept at a safe distance from the knowledge, contacts and skills that are held in the highest esteem. No programme caters for them, whether literacy teaching or agricultural extension work".[5] When trading institutes do admit women, they train them in altogether marginal activities whose usefulness to the community is negligible. "Rather

Photo © Claude Sauvageot, Paris

than being taught the new cultivation and management techniques which ... they are perfectly capable of learning, they are given lessons in embroidery, sewing, knitting and cookery."

Like the traditional societies of India and China, African societies obey the rules of "institutionalized subordination", under which women have internalized three types of submission: "Before marriage, obey your father. After marriage, obey your husband. After your husband dies, obey your son."[4]

This system of subordination and "androcentrism" has unfortunate implications which result in discrimination in the areas of food and health. On the subject of Indian women, ill-nourished and receiving inferior health care, it has been noted that "while there is a higher incidence of diseases caused by malnutrition among women, the hospital rate of admission and treatment of young and adult males for these diseases is larger."[4] This exclusion and deprivation of rights on "biological" grounds opens the door to other forms of marginalization, in education in particular: the number of illiterate women is increasing; when girls are not "drop-outs, push-outs and left-outs", they are to be found in "traditional, ornamental fields of education" considered to be "feminine".

In the political sphere, despite the fact that some women hold senior positions, most play very little part in politics, because they have never been properly taught and because of the social pressures whereby "unmarried girls [in India] are socially and culturally prohibited from free mingling with males ... owing to their parents' fear of a reduction of their 'value' in the marriage market".[3] Custom demands that a married woman follow her *dharma*, which is "to be subservient to her husband, take care of his needs, make him happy, bear and rear his children". After this taxing ordeal, how can a woman find time to involve herself in politics? Surely her everyday household drudgery is already the first barrier to any kind of participation in the life of the community. ■

1. Jeanne Bissillat and Michèle Fiéloux. *Femmes du tiers monde*, Paris, Le Sycomore, 1983.
2. Fatima Mernissi. *Sexe, idéologie, islam*, Paris, Tierce, 1983.
3. D. Radha Devi and M. Ravindran. "Women's Work in India", *International Social Science Journal*, Volume XXXV, No. 4, 1983.
4. Govind Kelkar. *Comparative analysis of Indian and Chinese experiences of institutionalization of popular participation in development (in particular for women)*, Unesco, 1979.
5. Claudine Vidal. *Les femmes wolof dans un milieu rural en mutation: marginalisation ou intégration?*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, 1981.

AMADOU MOUSTAPHA DIOP, *Senegalese specialist in migration problems, is engaged in research with the French Centre for the Study of International Relations. He also lectures at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations, Paris.*

The 'new poor'

by Giovanni Sarpellon

IN the past decade, three phenomena have been observed in the West which are gradually bringing major changes to the structures of production, society and even culture. These are the cessation of big-city expansion, the mushrooming of small and medium-sized firms, and the return to a personalization of labour. The combined effects of these three phenomena undoubtedly mark the end of the industrial era which, as it gradually unfolded, saw the birth of the industrial giants and, around them, of the huge conurbations in which the "working class" acquired its present form.

This transformation has been greatly facilitated by the establishment, immediately after the Second World War, of large industrial firms which sought to extract maximum benefit from economies of scale in the technical and production spheres. However, all the disadvantages of these vast enterprises became painfully apparent in the late 1960s and thereafter: the technical advantages proved markedly inferior to the disadvantages where labour organization and management were concerned.

Independently of any value judgement on the trade union struggles in these years—results have been encouraging in many respects but discouraging in others—such struggles inevitably brought big firms into situations of conflict which have had very harmful repercussions on their management systems. The swift but silent response has been to embark on the "deverticalization" of large firms, which has been matched by the parallel development of smaller companies. I am thinking here of small and medium-sized firms outside urban areas, whose expansion is facilitated by technological innovations.

The present crisis is above all a crisis of the city, of urban economics and urban society.

The numbers of workers with which large-scale urban industry is flooding the labour market fail to find, on the spot, the jobs that nevertheless exist in the "outlying" regions where the new production process is under way. There is thus from the outset a "territorial" imbalance between supply and demand where jobs are concerned. Consequently there is growing unemployment in the big cities. The great European cities are facing problems that were formerly inconceivable: families with no means of support claim full relief, and attempts are made to satisfy their needs by wholly outdated means such as soup kitchens and State hostels.

The territorial imbalance between supply and demand on the labour market is aggravated by an equally wide gap between the occupational skills available and the skills in demand. Unemployed workers are primarily to be found in the heavy industry sector, i.e. they are skilled in a trade which emerged, more or less directly, from the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. But the jobs currently available are increasingly to be found in the sector of micro-electronics, indisputably the mainspring of another "revolution" which is bringing profound changes to production systems and working methods.

The technological revolution poses a threat to the productive class as a whole, numerically, economically and politically. The traditional industrial sectors are continually losing jobs and are involving other, related activities in their decline; new wealth and new social prestige are developing out of the new occupations, and, if present trends continue, the number of individuals making a living from their labour is bound to decline.

At the same time, attitudes towards inequalities are also noticeably shifting. Many things have changed since the industrial revolution, in the ideological as

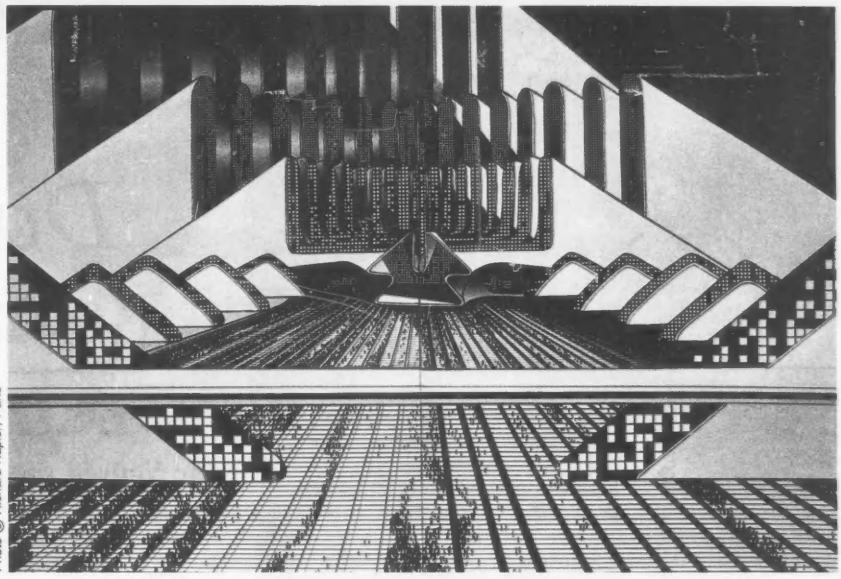


Photo © Richard Napier, Paris

"The numbers of workers with which large-scale urban industry is flooding the labour market fail to find, on the spot, the jobs that nevertheless exist in the 'outlying' regions. ... Consequently there is growing unemployment in the big cities."

well as the material spheres. In the days of large firms, it was easy to regard production as the fruit of a joint effort in which it was difficult to single out the contribution of each individual. Collective bargaining determined workers' pay as the outcome of a conflictual relationship with the employer, who converted part of the workers' labour into profit. Workers were thus impelled to join forces in order to defend themselves against employers, whom they regarded as growing steadily richer at their expense.

The situation has since changed, and by the same token, so have attitudes to social inequalities. The recent emergence of the small production unit has set a new value on the roles of both company director and worker. The specific contribution of each individual has become more visible: that of the employer, who takes the risks, and that of the worker, who has his or her personal stake in the success of the firm. Profit and "personalized" wages thus become the "fair" remuneration for the various contributions made to the running of the firm. Any differences arising are thereby justified; and so are the resulting inequalities.

This new tolerance of positive discrimination (he who makes the greatest contribution deserves the greatest reward) nevertheless has its negative side: he who does not contribute to the joint effort is entitled to nothing.

The affirmation of this new attitude has had major repercussions throughout the Western world, and much criticism has been levelled at the systems of redistribution of resources—especially at the aid granted to population groups outside the labour market. This process of fragmentation and individualization weakens the feeling of belonging to a community and gradually erodes those areas where social solidarity with the least privileged categories of the population can flourish—with people who are excluded from the realm of production and who are thus in danger of being deprived of the basic necessities of life.

This is the context in which the problem of the new poverty arises. The expression is ambiguous, being open to different interpretations.

The first interpretation assigned to the new poverty is inappropriate and should be dropped. It has to do with the emergence of "post-materialist" needs (new needs) peculiar to societies which have solved their material problems and which are now increasingly aware of relational, cultural or even psychological pressures. Failure to achieve personal fulfilment, loneliness, frustration, the inability to make the most of leisure time, and cultural dependence, are some of the problems which the affluent society not only fails to solve but which it causes and positively exacerbates. These are, of course, extremely important problems to which we should not remain indifferent. But it is equally obvious that they have nothing to do with poverty, even if we label it "new" poverty. In the context of the crisis affecting the welfare state and industrial society, the emphasis placed on this type of "new poverty" may be seen as an attempt to reassert the central position of the traditional productive class and its right to expect the State to supply it with the means of satisfying its new needs. It is no coincidence that this type of demand is voiced in the same breath as harsh criticism of systems of aid (to the destitute).

There is another meaning of "new poverty". A decade of economic difficulties has necessarily left deep scars on the world of work. For a start, the steady improvement in standards of living has come to a halt, and the middle class has been abruptly disappointed in its expectations. Just when the historical protagonists of the industrial revolution were reaping the fruits of their success, a long-lasting economic crisis has occurred which now seems to be taking a new turn. Those who see themselves as the "new poor" are the passive victims of this change of direction. These new poor are people who are excluded from the production process, but, still more, they tend to be those individuals who stand to lose their central position in society. The crisis looming on the horizon is now taking the form of a crisis in the unions (undermined by corporatist attitudes), a crisis in the political parties (weakened by their dwindling numbers), and a crisis in culture (moving towards new themes and values). The technological revolution has also thrown up a new race of "tycoons", whose fingers are on the buttons of science, technology and power: they use computer language and computer printouts, which have reduced the people at

large to a sort of new illiteracy, not to say a state of utter dependence.

A new process that creates inequalities is under way, and no effective measures have been taken to counter it; it does seem, however, that there has been a general growth of awareness. The new poverty stands revealed as the price that society must pay if, after a period of transition of uncertain duration, it is once again to be able to enjoy a definite improvement in its overall well-being. In the meantime, both forms of poverty, new and old, will continue to develop.

The new poor are, and will be, victims of the crisis and victims of the impact of the technological revolution. Loss of employment is much more serious in a period burgeoning with innovations in the production sphere than in a period of flagging technological progress.

The new poverty has thus evolved from the world of work: the category most at risk is that of unemployed adults who lack the occupational skills made necessary by the new technologies. There are two categories of poor people who are still, for the time being, in a twilight area, but who cannot be ignored much longer. These are the temporarily out-of-work, who are highly unlikely to find another job in production, and young people looking for their first job. The former are not poor, because they receive unemployment benefits, whereas the latter do not appear in the statistics of poverty because they are still living at home in families which are not themselves poor. And yet both categories are in a situation which is maintained artificially and which, sooner or later, will turn into real poverty.

Finally, the fact cannot be glossed over that, while it is undoubtedly necessary to pay attention to the new categories of the poor, whose numbers are steadily increasing, we must nevertheless not forget those who have never ceased to live in conditions which are even worse. This reminder must be all the more emphatic in view of the fact that "traditional" poverty seems to be gaining ground as growing numbers of individuals find themselves in precarious and marginal situations, while, at the same time, systems of national assistance seem to be tending towards steady cutbacks in benefits, owing to the difficulties with which national insurance schemes have increasingly to contend. ■

GIOVANNI SARPELLON, *Italian specialist in problems of development and poverty, is professor of sociology at the University of Venice.*

The poorest of the poor

The International Movement ATD Fourth World[1] was among the participants at the international meeting on "Poverty and Progress", held at Unesco HQ from 17 to 21 November 1986.

In a working document prepared for the meeting, Huguette Redegeld and Eugen Brand quote a saying from Africa south of the Sahara to the effect that "The medicine for Man is Man", and point out that this "medicine", "for populations weakened by persistent, acute poverty, is not simply a matter of professional expertise. It lies in the willingness of men and women to offer an important part of their lives, to risk their careers in order to work for progress for others ...

"We note that progress is always slow to reach the poorest of the poor. When the rest of the population is already beginning to taste the fruits of forms of progress such as new communications technologies, the poorest of the poor are still fighting illiteracy and struggling to learn how to read and write ...

"The very poor should be involved in charting the future. History shows that if they are not involved at the planning stage of new projects, then they will not be the beneficiaries of change. Progress which is meant to benefit everyone has not resulted in the elimination of extreme poverty ...

"ATD Fourth World, founded on a refusal to let the weakest be pushed aside, is pledged to serve those to whom it has made commitments and with whom it works each day ... The search for solidarity in face of the plight of the most deprived is a task of such overriding importance that everything possible should be done to ensure that it is fruitful. To see man as the centre of progress and to put the weakest at the heart of our concerns is to take one step towards mobilizing all mankind for justice and for peace." ■

1. ATD is the acronym for *Aide à toute détresse* ("Aid for all distress").

Domina and de

by Nguyên van Khoa

POST-COLONIAL society has, up till now, proved unable to generate the momentum that would carry it forward on the path of progress. The reason is that, although political independence has been achieved, the framework of dependence and domination established under the colonial system remains intact and, with the appearance on the scene of international capitalism, has, in fact, grown even stronger. Under these circumstances it is exceedingly difficult to surmount the obstacles of all kinds that stand in the way of autonomous development.

Vis-à-vis the developed countries, the newly-independent nations are undoubtedly still in a situation of structural dependence in that, rather than being definable in terms of submission of the weaker to the stronger, the relationship between the two partners reflects a structural imbalance. There is imbalance of power (the industrialized countries have greater opportunities of influencing international economic relations), imbalance in financial resources (Third World countries need capital inflow from outside), imbalance in technological capacity (Third World countries also need technological input from the rich countries) and, finally, imbalance in the structure of production (industrial economies on the one hand as against agricultural economies on the other).

This dependence favours the domination of the stronger partner. Since the end of the Second World War, imperialist domination has replaced colonial domination in the newly-independent countries. This domination is exerted in two ways: by the pressure of the Western industrialized countries and through the activities of transnational companies, the effect of whose ever-growing penetration

tion privation

and implantation in the poor countries is the consolidation of the new situation of an international division of labour.

The imperialist States and the transnational companies are assuming new roles in their relations with the dependent States by means of economic assistance, technical aid and political and military supervision. In a dependent State, lacking political will and, above all, economic resources, a bloated administrative system develops which becomes the instrument through which the outsiders wield their influence. Since economic policy is no longer in the hands of the dependent country and strategic decisions are not taken internally but in accordance with the aims of the transnational companies, new imbalances appear. Thus disparities arise between reliance on sophisticated technology and minimal use of local raw materials (assembly and packaging industries), between foreign capital-intensive production and minimal use of local manpower, between development of industry and agricultural stagnation (which results in increased dependence upon imported food), and between uncontrolled urban growth and abandonment of rural areas.

Furthermore, this imperialist domination is reproduced within the dependent country. External imperialism is sup-

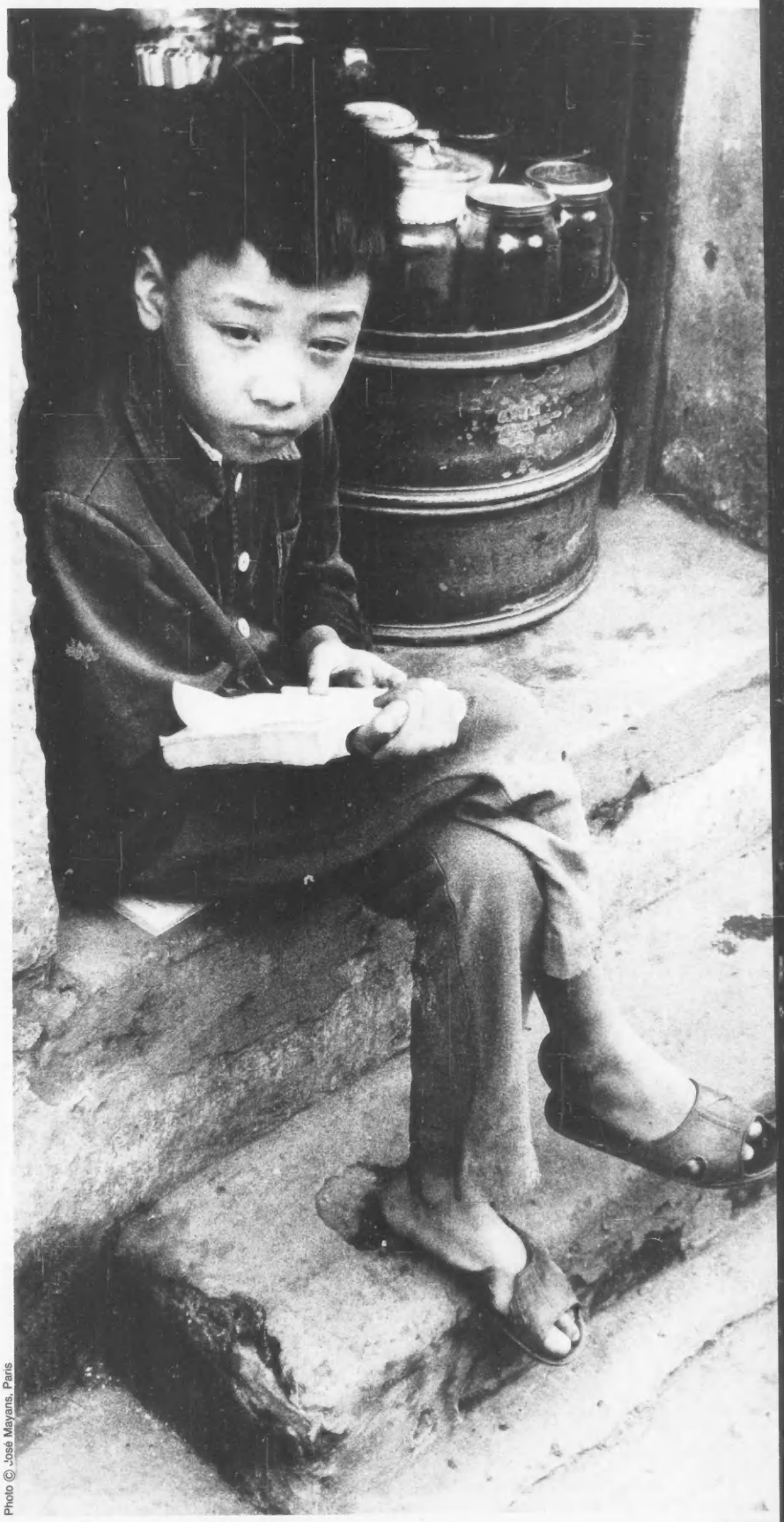


Photo © José Mayans, Paris

"The deeply rational character of accommodation [to poverty] lies behind, at least in part, the central instruction of the principal world religions. All, without exception, urge acquiescence, some in remarkably specific form," writes the American economist John Kenneth Galbraith in his book* The Nature of Mass Poverty. *Right, a Vietnamese village boy.

ported by an internal colonialism and outside interests are linked to the interests of certain internal social groups who see in this dependence a way of maintaining and improving their own status.

In the poor countries those factors that favour the raising of the standard of living are lacking. This is due to the operation of the circular mechanism of the "equilibrium of poverty".[1] The mechanism works like this: life at or near the subsistence level leaves no margin for saving, and without saving there is no possibility of capital accumulation and investment; without capital the rural economy cannot itself fund the investment to improve agricultural technology and the productivity of the primary sector; stagnation of the economy, which prohibits rising income, makes saving impossible.

In the countries of the Third World, the "equilibrium of poverty" has led to the emergence of the "culture of poverty". The rural version of this is basically the same as that encountered in the urban areas whose negative characteristics it shares, although in the rural areas certain characteristics (such as the rejection of innovation and "accommodation to poverty") are stronger or more pronounced.

Rejection of innovation is due to fear of failure. Any innovation involves a certain risk of failure, but in the context of the poor countries the risk is particularly serious. For an affluent Western farmer, to take a risk and to fail, while it may be regrettable, rarely entails real physical deprivation and certainly will not put his life in jeopardy. For a Third World family living at the bare subsistence level, however, "failure means hunger, possibly death. So regarded, risk is not something to be accepted casually".

All that remains is to accommodate to poverty, to resign oneself to it and accept it as inevitable. Such acceptance of poverty by no means implies weakness of character; on the contrary, it is "a profoundly rational response". "It is more civilized, more intelligent, as well as more plausible, that people, out of the experience of centuries, should reconcile themselves to what has for so long been the inevitable." "It is, more specifically, a formula for making the best of a usually hopeless situation." "The deeply rational character of accommodation lies behind, at least in part, the central instruction of the principal world religions. All, without exception, urge acquiescence [in the inevitability of poverty], some in remarkably specific form." ■

1. See *The Nature of Mass Poverty*, Harvard University Press, 1979, by John Kenneth Galbraith, from which the quotations in this article are taken.

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Poverty and progress

Class, caste and power

by Ambalal Somabhai Patel

THE basic cause of poverty in developing countries is usually considered to be the economic backwardness or stagnation of the rural areas where the vast majority of the population live. In India the main occupation of these rural people is agriculture, which contributes almost 40 per cent to the net domestic product. Yet the income of agricultural workers is substantially below the national average, and is often almost at subsistence level.

There are a number of reasons for this, notably:

- the unviable size of land holdings (still decreasing as a result of the system of dividing property among many);
- lack of irrigation facilities, so that farmers are dependent on rainfall and the vagaries of nature;
- lack of sufficient financial resources to invest in seeds, manure or equipment, or to pay seasonal labour costs;
- lack of satisfactory administrative machinery, such as co-operatives, to organize the purchase and resale of agricultural produce;
- lack of transport facilities and a good road network to ensure rapid distribution of fresh vegetables and fruit;
- inadequate knowledge of farming, farm products and seasonal crops, through non-utilization of available facilities such as further education programmes.

The productivity of small farms is generally low, resulting in very poor returns on labour input and capital investment. The plight of small farmers and unskilled agricultural labourers is made worse by the fact that they are ill-equipped for alternative employment in related sectors which could provide a source of income during the slack season.

While economic stagnation results from external factors that can be altered by determined implementation of appropriate development policies and

"Another social mechanism, exploitation, is a natural consequence of the class, caste and power systems, and plays an important role in perpetuating economic, social and political inequalities." Right, a scene from* Sadgati *(1981), a film by the Indian director Satyajit Ray.

programmes, there are other social or sociological factors, which are deeply rooted in tradition and are woven into the fabric of Indian society. Big efforts by the education system and the media are needed to overcome these obstacles, which arise from caste distinctions and religious beliefs. The rigid hierarchy of the caste system and the specific functions assigned to each caste since ancient times, underpinned by religious injunctions, provide little scope for upward mobility. Rural people are also more conservative and traditional in their outlook and believe so strongly in religious practices, social customs and superstitions that they resist attempts to change social behaviour and attitudes. The weight of past traditions, customs and values acts as a brake on economic development and the rapid elimination of poverty.

Another social mechanism, exploitation, is a natural consequence of the class, caste and power systems, and plays an important role in perpetuating economic, social and political inequalities. The rich exploit the poor in subtle ways of which the latter may be unaware; employers exploit employees; engineers exploit contractors or builders; the upper classes or castes exploit the lower; school administrators exploit teachers; teachers exploit students (although sometimes the reverse is the case); doctors and lawyers exploit patients and clients; intellectuals exploit non-intellectuals and create problems of student unrest.

Among other factors which affect the economic well-being of a society are family composition and size, which influence not only the intellectual and personal characteristics of family members, but also affect the family's financial status and the benefits derived from it. Two families differing in size and age structure may derive very different benefits from an equal total income. On the other hand, two families of equal size may have unequal earning capacities because of differences in age, sex, intellectual and personality traits, social or job status, or the number of aged, infirm or young family members.

Since the poor are usually unemployed, unemployment is often regarded as a cause of poverty. It should rather be seen as a contributing factor, or as a consequence of other variables which may co-exist with poverty.

Demographic factors have been raised in discussions of poverty because the population parameter appears in the measurement of wealth in terms of per capita national income. One conclusion drawn from this is that in order to reduce poverty, the numerator (national income) should increase, while the denominator (population size) should be reduced. At one time the population factor was relegated to the background—Karl Marx, for example, saw no link between demographic growth and poverty and held the capitalist system entirely responsible for the latter. In the 1950s and 1960s many developing countries experienced a population explosion as the result of a rapid decline in mortality rates unaccompanied by a corresponding fall in the birthrate. This again brought the population factor to the forefront. However, to imply that rapid population growth is the cause or even one of the main causes of the problem of poverty is clearly an oversimplification of the problem. ■

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by Igor Petryanov-Sokolov

An open book

A Soviet recipe for promoting the reading habit

Photos © APN, Documentation from Artists Union of the USSR

The Booklovers' Society of the USSR marked the 40th anniversary of Unesco with this bookplate design representing a globe within the pages of a book.

THE chief purpose of the Booklovers' Society of the USSR is to encourage the greatest possible number of people to become interested in books, and particularly to develop a taste for reading among children and teenagers, whose attention tends to be monopolized by television, the cinema and video. For the book and the screen are not interchangeable. The cinema dispenses readymade impressions, whereas reading demands an intensive effort of thought and imagination which has considerable formative value.

Seventeen million booklovers of every Soviet nationality, age and occupation are members of the Society, which is active in the fifteen federal republics, in the autonomous republics, the territories, the regions, and in over 4,000 cities, towns and districts. It has 194,000 cells in enterprises, factories, construction sites, agricultural co-operatives and schools.

Its role is to become a genuine instrument of exchange and dialogue between cultures through helping all kinds of people to get to know the treasures of Soviet and other literatures.

The Society engages in a wide range of activities including the organization of exhibitions, literary debates, book festivals, theatrical and musical performances, and meetings with writers. By these means it seeks to develop a taste for reading and an interest in contemporary literature.

Collaboration with libraries has always been an essential part of the Society's work. The specialists who serve on the Society's management committees help libraries to build up their collections and inform young people in workers' hostels, factories, schools and other institutions about the existence of such library facilities.

As a contribution to the United Nations International Youth Year (1985), a children's art competition was held on the theme of "pages from favourite books", and book weeks were organized for children and teenagers.

A regular feature of the Society's activities are the annual festivals for young readers organized by local branches in each republic in collaboration with youth libraries. Examples include a major children's book festival in Lithuania, a festival organized by the school sections of the Booklovers' Society of Armenia, a Young Booklover's Rally in Azerbaijan, and the Schools Literary Festival in the Russian SFSR. A Booklovers' Day and Book Festival held in Moscow in 1985 were a great success.

It is not unusual for booklovers to give practical expressions of solidarity with readers in other republics. Ukrainian readers organized a collection of books for libraries in Gazli, a town in Uzbekistan which was destroyed in an earthquake. Libraries in Tajikistan, which also suffered in the earthquake, similarly received gifts of books.

The Society also acts as a link between authors, publishers, distributors and bookbuyers. Travelling libraries on boats or in buses go all over the country, taking collections of the latest books to isolated communities. One specially equipped "bibliobus" for readers in the town of Neriungri in Yakutia caters for a nearby coalmine, a prefabricated material factory and building sites. In the Ashkabad region (Turkmen SSR) booklovers have set up small libraries on ships and airliners. They also send books to day-schools and boarding schools, hospitals, village libraries and the sites of major public works projects. The delivery of parcels of books to construction workers on the second Trans-Siberian railway was given top priority.

Most booklovers' circles also try to meet the ever greater demand from young factory executives for scientific and technical literature dealing with their branch of activity. Young readers are also interested in book preservation and restoration—in a single year, 500,000 volumes were restored in more than 400 bookbinding clubs in schools in the Cherkassy region (Ukrainian SSR). Many clubs draw on the teaching resources of museums, and are introducing a growing number of young workers, kolkhoz members, students and schoolchildren to literature, art, history and the sciences. One example of this trend is the literary and musical circle accommodated in the former home, now a museum, of the novelist

***Two examples of calligraphy from the Soviet Union. Above, a seal designed in 1919 by Sergei Chekhonin for the Department of Visual Art of the People's Commissariat of Education. Right, a 1913 lithograph produced by Kazimir Malevich for the cover of a poetry anthology,* The Three.**

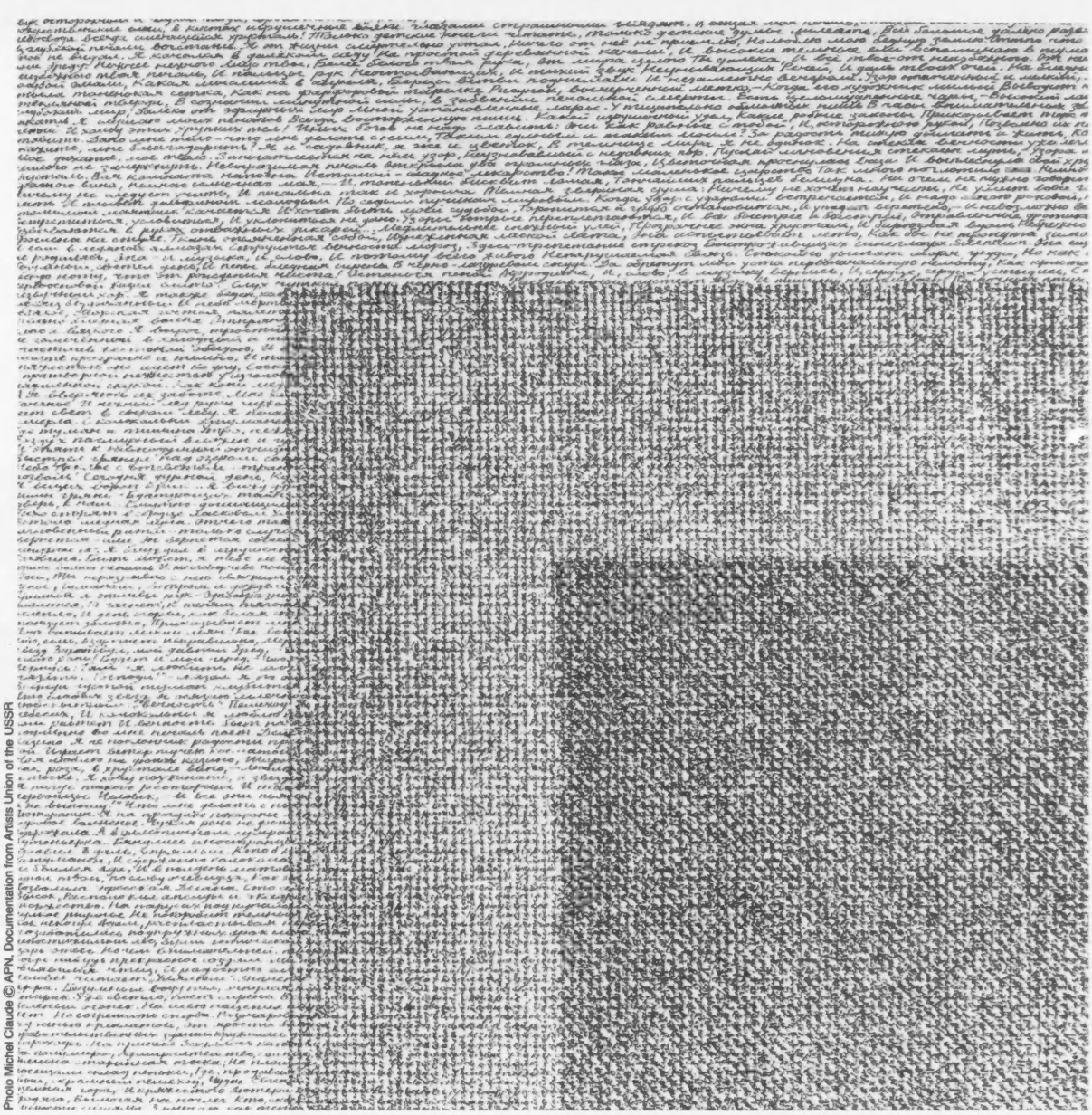

Photo Michel Claude © APN. Documentation from Artists Union of the USSR

Above,* Poems by Osip Mandelstam *(1979), a calligraphic study in Indian ink by Alexander Yulikov (born 1943), which was shown at an exhibition on the art of calligraphy organized at Unesco Headquarters in October 1986 by the USSR National Commission for Unesco and the Artists' Union of the USSR.

Constantine Fedin at Saratov (Russian SFSR).

The Society publishes bibliographical works, literary criticism, biographies of famous bibliophiles and collectors, and descriptions of great libraries. It publishes more than 300 titles a year, mainly literary works and art books, with a print run of over a million copies.

The Society has contributed to the erection of monuments to great writers and to the creation of book museums and book centres in localities which have no public library. It has, for example, helped to restore the monument to Nikolai Gogol at Poltava in the Ukrainian SSR, and to the opening of the Mikhail Lermontov Museum at Taman, in the Caucasus.

The Society's central directorate establishes and maintains close contacts with similar associations in the other Socialist countries and in capitalist countries which have cultural relations with the USSR. International meetings and co-operation and exchange agreements in the fields of books and publishing contribute to the enrichment of knowledge, the spread of humanitarian ideals and the strengthening of friendship between peoples. ■

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Photo Paul Fusco © Magnum, Paris

Games, sports and traditions

ABUNDANT documentation exists in the form of paintings, sculpture and writing—in some cases dating back to very early times—of the importance of sports, rituals, dances and games in the traditions of peoples all over the world.

The nature of these activities has been influenced by the cultures of the peoples which developed them and shaped them into original creations through which the body can "speak" its own language.

Celtic trials of strength; Afghan *buzkashi;* Basque *pelota;* Korean *tae kwon do;* African wrestling; Japanese martial arts; Caribbean limbo dancing; lumberjack contests in Canada; Moroccan *fantasia;* Russian *sombo* wrestling; canoe racing and water jousting—these are just a few of the many traditional sports and games still practised today.

The world's rich diversity of games and sports consists of forms of expression which reflect the identity of each people and form part of the cultural and artistic heritage of humanity.

Paradoxically, however, the increasing popularity of sport is itself jeopardizing the existence of traditional games which are too often held to be of minor or marginal importance because they are confined to certain localities or regions.

Today the attention of millions of televiewers around the world is monopolized by some twenty games and sports, whose hold is strengthened by the fascination exercised by the small screen, the power of the image and the cult of the heroes created by the media. The threat of disappearance or marginalization hangs over a whole set of authentic popular cultures.

In response to the new awareness of the value of these traditional games and sports that has developed in the last few years, Unesco's Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (ICPES) has recommended Member States to preserve and make more widely known these original manifestations of their national cultures.

As a result, a programme of World Festivals of Games, Sports and Traditions, organized in collaboration with the International Fund for the Development of Physical Education and Sport (FIDEPS), is scheduled to begin in mid-1987 in Asia and Europe. A large number of organizations, countries, towns and cities have already expressed the wish to be associated with this initiative. Similar festivals will be organized periodically in other continents, so that most of the traditional sports and games still practised can be presented to televiewers throughout the world.

The purpose of the Festivals, which will include entertainments, public demonstrations, symposiums, exhibitions and film shows, is to preserve the authentic nature of each game.

The forthcoming World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1998) is bound to draw attention to this renewal of interest in traditional games and sports. ■

The North American game of "earthball" is the modern version of an ancient game used ceremonially in certain cultures to express an exuberant belief in the regenerative forces of nature. Two teams take part in an energetic but good-humoured struggle for possession of a large ball representing the earth, above. A similar game with symbolic and religious significance is still played in Japan. It is known as "the ball-struggle of Hakozaki Shrine", and takes place on 3 January each year in Fukuoka City. The participants (left) are all young men, clad only in loincloths, who represent their home districts. A sacred wooden ball is used in the game. In his book* Naked Festivals of Japan, *Tamotsu Yato writes: "The fighting mêlée gradually moves in the return direction of the shrine, while spectators and priests throw cold water over the naked throng ... The side that has possession of the ball as the group enters the shrine precincts wins and has the honour of returning the ball to its priest-custodian."

Photo B. Brake © Rapho, Paris

For further information about the World Festival of Games, Sports and Traditions, please write to: Unesco/FIDEPS, ED/SCM, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

Photo Yang Zuohuan, China News Service

Treasures from an ancient Chinese tomb

by Wen Ruitang

Archaeologists and sightseers are dwarfed by the size of the first major tomb to be excavated in the cemetery of Yongcheng, the capital from which Dukes of the Qin family ruled part of China some 2,500 years ago, before the country was united under its first Emperor, Qin Shi Huang (259-210 BC).

FOR years archaeologists working in China's Shaanxi Province had tried to deduce the location of a 2,500-year-old royal cemetery from clues scattered in an ancient historical chronicle, the *Shi Ji*. They mounted no less than five expeditions in search of the cemetery, the burial ground of the leaders of the Qin family which ruled in northwestern China during what is known as the "Spring and Autumn Period" and the "Warring States Period" of Chinese history (770-221 BC). During the last of these expeditions, in 1976, they discovered a large tomb, investigation of which convinced them that they had not only located the cemetery but the site of the Qin capital itself, the magnificent and mysterious city of Yongcheng.

The tomb, which the archaeologists called the "Duke of Qin Tomb No. 1" (the head of a state at that time being known as a "duke") is situated some 160 kilometres west of Xian. It was about 25 kilometres east of this ancient Chinese capital that a fabulous army of life-size terra-cotta statues of soldiers and horses was discovered in 1974 (see the *Unesco Courier*, December 1979). These remarkable statues accompanied the tomb of a later member of the family and founder of the Qin dynasty, Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of a united China, who lived from 259 to 210 BC. The Duke of Qin's tomb sheds light on an earlier period of Chinese history—it dates from several centuries earlier than that of Qin Shi Huang.

Yongcheng was the political, economic, military and cultural hub of the Qin State for almost 300 years, during which it became known as a magnificent and grandiose State capital.

Excavations have shown that the site is divided into two major sections—the cemetery, and a cluster of palace buildings which lay within city walls. Remains of the walls indicate that the palace area measured 3,300 metres from east to west and 3,200 metres from north to south, an area of 11 square kilometres.

Four main groups of buildings dating from the Spring and Autumn Period have been located in the south of the city. One group, a complex of earth and timber temples used for ancestor-worship, covers more than 7,000 square metres and is the largest and best-preserved example of Qin temple architecture yet found.

Another group (covering 21,800 square metres) comprises five palace courtyards which extended from south to north and are regarded as the most complete example of early Qin State architecture. Comparison of this site with data from contemporary writings has convinced archaeologists that heads of state during the Spring and Autumn Period administered public affairs in the open air in such palace courtyards, thus continuing the tradition of an earlier tribal society.

The buildings of Yongcheng were of a sophisticated double-pillar construction, ornamented with delicately engraved bronzework, some sixty fragments of which have been unearthed. Archaeologists have also found specimens of roof tiles decorated with graceful human and animal motifs such as a young deer with its mother, a jumping frog, a hunter and a tiger. One interesting feature of the palace is an underground cold store, the oldest known icebox, which could hold some 190 cubic metres of ice.

Yongcheng's cemetery, which extends 7 kilometres from east to west and 3 kilometres from north to south, comprises thirteen graveyards of various shapes and sizes, each ringed by a moat. The total length of the moats, which were formerly linked together, is 35 kilometres.

There are eighteen large tombs with two symmetrical aisles. These are known as "中"-shaped tombs since their layout viewed from above looks like the Chinese character "中". There are also three tombs with one aisle. These are known as "甲"-shaped tombs since their layout is similar to the Chinese character "甲". The number of small and medium-sized tombs has not yet been calculated. Each

large tomb is accompanied by pits in which sacrifices, such as wagons and horses, were buried. The largest pit is 116 metres long and 25 metres wide.

The Duke of Qin Tomb No. 1 is "Ψ-shaped" and resembles an inverted pyramid built into the ground. It extends 59.4 metres from east to west, 38.8 metres from north to south, and is 24 metres deep from ground level to the bottom of the tomb. The two aisles, 7 to 19 metres wide and with a total length of 270 metres, form a deep valley which leads to the coffin chamber, which has three levels and measures 40 metres by 20 metres at the base. Some 160 containers of human sacrifices were found around and above the lowest level, arranged according to their social status in life. In addition, the bodies of twenty slaves, their limbs bent, were buried in the dirt close to the surface.

Each human sacrifice container is labelled with characters and numbers carved on cinnabar. Objects found in the containers with the bodies—tools, pigments, bronze mirrors or strings of pearls—suggest that these men and women were intended to serve the Duke in the "other world" as labourers, craftworkers, or entertainers. Little imagination is required to picture their sufferings when they were buried, and to conceive of the cruelty and barbarity of the Qin regime.

The main coffin was placed in a structure 15 metres long and 6 metres wide, built with three layers of square timbers joined without a single metal nail. The top layer consisted of 56 timbers, probably high quality pine, each 20 cms square, some 6 metres long, and weighing about 300 kilograms. All knots in the timber had been replaced with cast metal, often in blocks as big as a fist, to prevent the wood from rotting away. We do not know how metal was cast in wood at this early period, when even iron tools were rare. The timbers were painted and further preserved by a layer of charcoal, up to 3 metres thick in some places, which covered the whole structure.

Two long wooden logs, which had been used to lay the main coffin to rest during the funeral, were found lying at an angle in the soil on either side of it. These logs are the earliest "tombstones" ever found in China. In later times the tomb owner's name and his funeral elegy were carved on such wooden "tombstones", and later still the practice of placing a stone tablet in front of a tomb was adopted.

Although the Duke of Qin Tomb had often been robbed in ancient times, archaeologists have discovered some 2,600 funeral objects made of such materials as stone, jade, iron, bronze, pottery, lacquer, bamboo, wood, silk, and clay. The most valuable finds are twenty exquisitely crafted and highly polished musical stones or chimes, many of which are complete and can still produce clear and melodious sounds. Carved on the chimes are 190 superbly calligraphed characters executed in a similar style to the inscriptions found on drum-shaped stone blocks from the "Warring States" Period (475-221 BC).

Several iron artefacts such as shovels have also been excavated, providing the earliest evidence of metal technology yet found in northern China.

Unfortunately, not many precious metal artefacts are left. Those which have survived include gold animal figures, rings, beads, bronze swords with gold handles, gold decorations for carts and horses, and gold wire springs. Pieces of jade, often of high quality with still-clear designs, have also been found.

Not all of these gold and jade objects belonged to the tomb owner. Many human sacrifices also wore jewellery, such as strings of gold or turquoise beads. Even the sacrificial wagons and horses were decorated with gold, most of the highly-imaginative designs showing human or animal figures of varying shapes. Such finds, manifestations of a highly diverse culture, are invaluable for anthropological studies on the arts and the forms of entertainment in Qin society.

Small pieces of silk found in the tomb illustrate the high standard of weaving techniques at that time, and their designs, though faded, still give some idea of the brightness of the original colours.

Archaeologists and natural scientists are collaborating closely in the conservation of objects from the Duke of Qin Tomb No. 1, which is still being excavated. (The other major tombs are also to be excavated.) For some time my colleagues and I have been studying the applications of laser technology and other modern scientific processes to the conservation of cultural relics. We have been successful in using our laser equipment to remove rust, contaminant and mildew, and have so far completed the surface cleaning of twenty-six objects made of such materials as iron, bronze, stone, pottery and silk, as well as ancient paintings and calligraphy.

The most remarkable advantage of the laser-cleaning technique is that it does not damage the surface of the object, including any vestiges of designs or inscriptions. Moreover, when a layer of rust is removed by laser, the artefact does not readily rust again.

The application of this technique was costly at first, but now the expense has come down to a level acceptable to the departments responsible for the preservation of cultural relics. We are however trying to further reduce the cost of our service, to ensure that the salvage and conservation of our cultural heritage from this ancient civilization will continue. ■

WEN RUITANG, *Chinese engineer, is a specialist in the conservation of archaeological relics by means of laser technology.*

Photos Yang Zuchuan, China News Service

The ruler buried in the newly-excavated tomb was surrounded by human sacrifices and various objects for use in the next world. Crafted in materials such as jade, iron, bronze, pottery, wood and silk, the mass of finds so far unearthed at Yongcheng shed light on tastes and technologies in an obscure period of early Chinese history. From top to bottom: a jade artefact, a stone fish, two stone statues and an eaves tile with an animal design.

UNICEF at forty

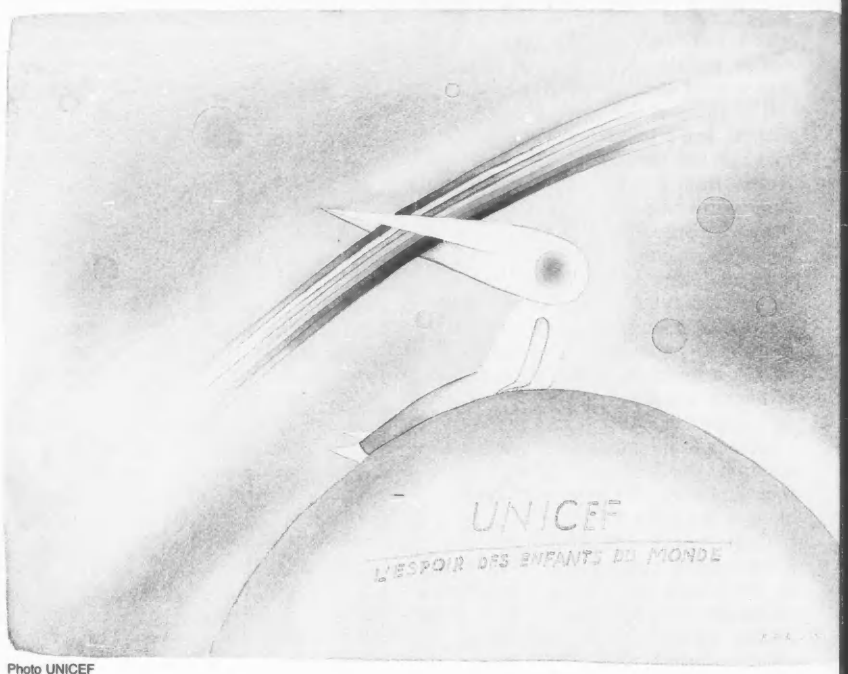

Photo UNICEF

ON 11 December 1986 UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, celebrated its 40th anniversary.

Forty years is a short time when set against the changes needed to protect the world's children from death, hunger and sickness, and to eradicate illiteracy and suffering. Every six seconds somewhere in the world a child dies or becomes handicapped as the result of an illness against which he could have been vaccinated. Most of each day's 40,000 child deaths could be avoided.

Much thus remains to be done. But in the last forty years, UNICEF has carried out action programmes in many fields:

- **Aid to orphans** and malnourished children in Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War, and today in the developing world;
- **Emergency aid** to millions of children in Palestine, Kampuchea, Bangladesh, Peru, Ethiopia and elsewhere;
- **Long-term development projects** in almost all Third World countries (UNICEF is currently active in 113 developing countries);
- **Co-operation** in efforts to eradicate diseases such as yaws and smallpox;
- **Launching new methods** of child protection with the participation of local populations;
- **Training** hundreds of thousands of persons in teaching, agriculture, childbirth methods, hygiene, etc.;
- **Provision** throughout the world of medical and school supplies, water pumps, and hundreds of thousands of tonnes of equipment;
- **Application at country and local levels** of new technical measures relating to vaccination, child care, breast-feeding and oral rehydration therapy;
- **Telling the public** through UNICEF national committees and their teams of volunteers about new techniques for solving child welfare problems.

UNICEF is wholly financed by voluntary contributions from governments and private individuals. 75% of its resources are provided by governments and 25% from fund-raising campaigns and the sale of greetings cards and stationery. This year's all-the-year-round greeting cards are now available at UNICEF sales points throughout the world. In addition to the cards UNICEF is also offering a variety of other stationery including correspondence folders, postcards, gift labels, and birth announcement cards, as well as educational games (jigsaw puzzles and models) and other gifts. Above, a poster created by the Belgian artist Jean-Michel Folon to mark the 40th anniversary of UNICEF. ■

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Endangered species

The survival of many wild animals and plant species is endangered by a variety of human activities such as indiscriminate hunting, the destruction of their habitats, and the presence of toxic chemicals in the environment. To promote awareness of this problem and to raise funds to support nature conservation projects, the United Nations Environment Programme, whose headquarters are in Nairobi (Kenya) has produced a series of pocket calendars and correspondence cards. The series is illustrated with photos of endangered species, a selection of which is shown on this page.

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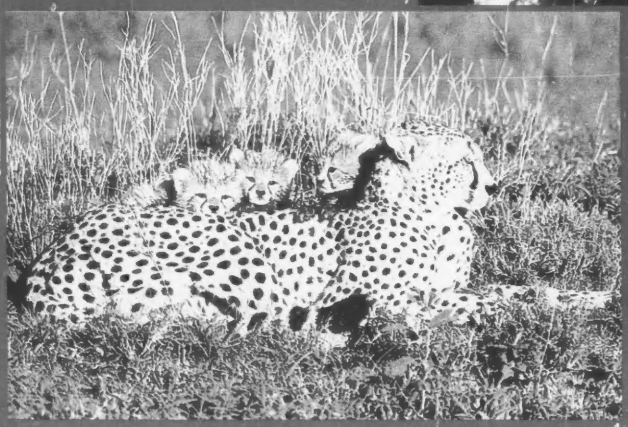
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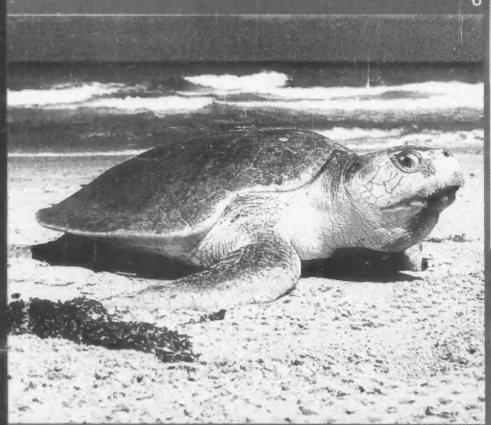
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(1) Resplendent Quetzal. *Pharomachrus mocinno*. Mexico and Central America. (2) Golden Lion Tamarin. *Leontopithecus rosalia*. Brazil. (3) Philippine Tarsier. *Tarsius syrichta*. (4) Cheetah. *Acinonyx jubatus*. Africa and West Asia. (5) Kemp's Ridley Turtle. *Lepidochelys kempi*. Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coastal shores. (6) California Condor, *Gymnogyps californianus*. (7) Hawaiian Monk Seal. *Monachus schauinslandi*.

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